

CHINA  
HANDBOOK  
1937-1943

戰時中華志



# CHINA HANDBOOK

1937—1943

*A Comprehensive Survey of Major Developments  
in China in Six Years of War*

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*Editor-in-Chief*  
HOLLINGTON K. TONG

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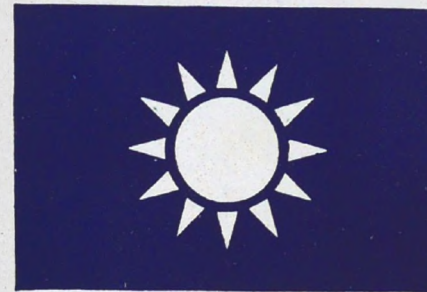
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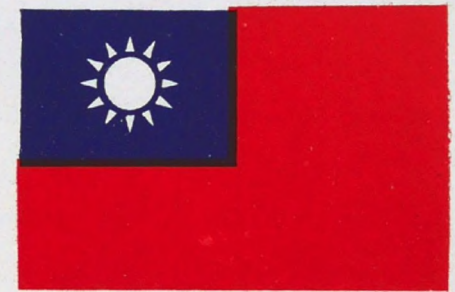




# Chinese National Standards



*Flag of Kuomintang*



*Flag of the Republic*

The history of the Chinese national flag—the **White - Sun - in - Blue - Sky-over-Red-Ground** dates back to 1906 when this emblem was decided upon as the Chinese national standard by Dr. Sun Yat-sen at the *Tung Meng Hui* assembly held in Tokyo. When the Republic of China was founded in 1912, however, the five-barred (red-yellow-blue-white-black) flag was adopted by the Government, while the design created by Dr. Sun and his revolutionary comrades was made the naval flag of China.

Following the successful completion of the Northern Punitive Expedition the **White - Sun - in - Blue - Sky-over-Red-Ground** was officially adopted as the national flag on October 8th, 1928 (the 17th year of the Republic of China).

The flag of the Kuomintang, which is the **White-Sun-in-Blue-Sky**, originated in Canton — birthplace of Chinese

Revolution,—in 1895. It now occupies the upper-left quarter of the Chinese national flag to signify Party-rule.

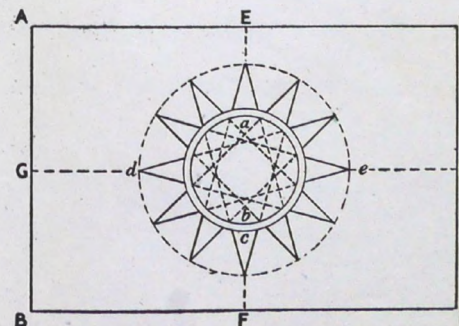
The 12 points of the **White-Sun** in the party emblem represent the 12 two-hour periods of the day. They also symbolize the forever-progressive and enterprising spirit.

The colors of blue, white and red represent collectively the *Three People's Principles*. The color symbolization is as follows:

**Blue**—Equality, "By the People," Justice, and "Democracy"

**White**—Fraternity, "For the People," Frankness, and "Livelihood"

**Red**—Liberty, "Of the People," Sacrifice, and "Nationalism"



$$AB:AC=2:3$$

$$ab:EF=3:8, bc=\frac{1}{8}ab$$

$$de:GH=2:4$$

Angle of each point— $30^\circ$



## PREFACE TO THE AMERICAN EDITION

CHINA HANDBOOK 1937-1943 is the first undertaking of its kind by the Chinese Ministry of Information. The premier edition came off the press in India early in July, 1943, and was flown to Chungking in time to make its appearance on the sixth anniversary of China's War of Resistance. Nor was any time lost in bringing this new and much-needed reference work to the United States. It appears here in an American edition under the imprint of the Macmillan Company.

There have been a few developments since the compilation of CHINA HANDBOOK in Chungking, including the death of President Lin Sen whose calligraphy graces its title-page. These and other revisions and additions have been made so as to bring the American edition up-to-date as far as possible. Material has also been added to Chapter IX—The Sino-Japanese Hostilities and Chapter XXIII—Chronology of Major Events to cover events in the war up to the middle of 1943.

CHINA HANDBOOK has been planned as a periodical publication, though not necessarily an annual. Until the appearance of the next volume, therefore, all who are concerned with China will find this a convenient and valuable repository of information.

THE EDITOR

New York, September 1, 1943.



## PREFACE

THE CHINA HANDBOOK is a comprehensive survey of the major developments in China since the outbreak of Sino-Japanese hostilities in July, 1937. It is intended to serve as an up-to-date reference book on wartime China.

In the selection of material for this publication, the editors have had recourse to official and other reliable sources. All facts and figures have been checked with due care in order to ensure accuracy and completeness as far as possible.

The HANDBOOK is divided into twenty-five chapters. Apart from Chapters I, XXII, XXIII, XXIV, XXV, which would have ordinarily been grouped under APPENDICES, material in each of the other twenty chapters is in the main chronologically arranged so as to enable the reader to follow the sequence of developments. At the outset of each chapter, sufficient historical background is given. Greater space, however, is devoted to description of events during the war years under review, with relevant documents and data attached.

The editors make no claim to exhaustiveness of information presented in this book. So much has happened since July, 1937, that it is impossible for any historian to make even a complete inventory of all known developments. Besides, war makes it necessary for any government to withhold until later publication such facts and figures as might be of use to the enemy. This is why information concerning China's military strength, industrial production, budgetary figures and the like is deliberately omitted.

Acknowledgement is due to all government offices, public organizations and individuals who have conscientiously cooperated with the editors by either furnishing useful material or suggesting thoughtful revisions, which have facilitated the publication of the HANDBOOK.

THE EDITOR

July, 1943.

## NATIONAL HOLIDAYS, ANNIVERSARIES AND MEMORIAL DAYS

January	1	Formal Founding of the Republic of China (1912)*
	28	Sino-Japanese War (Shanghai-Woosung Area) Anniversary (1932)
February	5	Farmers' Day
	19	New Life Movement Anniversary
March	8	International Women's Day
	12	National Spiritual Mobilization Anniversary, Arbor Day, Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Death Anniversary (1925)
March	29	Martyrs' Day*
April	4	Children's Day
	5	Music Day
May	1	International Labor Day
	4	Youth Day
	5	Establishment of the Revolutionary Government (1921), Poet's Day
June	3	Opium Suppression Day
	6	Engineers' Day
July	1	Establishment of the National Government
		International Cooperative Day (1st Saturday)
	7	War Anniversary (1937)
August	13	Outbreak of War in Shanghai (1937)
	14	Air Force Day
	27	Confucius' Birthday* (Teachers' Day)
September	1	Journalists' Day
		Physical Culture Day
	18	Mukden Outrage Anniversary (1931)
October	10	National Day*
November	12	Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Birthday*
	21	Air Defense Day
December	25	National Renaissance Day

\* National Holidays.



## CHIEH CHI (Chinese Festival Observances)

<i>Hsiao Han</i> (Slight Cold)	Jan. 6
<i>Ta Han</i> (Great Cold)	Jan. 21
<i>Li Chun</i> (Spring Commences)	Feb. 4
<i>Yu Shui</i> (Spring Showers)	Feb. 19
<i>Ching Che</i> (Excited Insects)	Mar. 6
<i>Chun Fen</i> (Spring Equinox)	Mar. 21
<i>Ching Ming</i> (Pure Brightness)	April 5
<i>Ku Yu</i> (Corn Rain)	April 21
<i>Li Hsia</i> (Summer Commences)	May 6
<i>Hsiao Man</i> (Small Fullness)	May 22
<i>Mang Chung</i> (Sprouting Seeds)	June 6
<i>Hsia Chih</i> (Summer Solstice)	June 22
<i>Hsiao Shu</i> (Slight Heat)	July 8
<i>Ta Shu</i> (Great Heat)	July 24
<i>Li Chiu</i> (Autumn Commences)	Aug. 8
<i>Chu Shu</i> (End of Summer)	Aug. 24
<i>Pai Lu</i> (White Dew)	Sept. 8
<i>Chiu Fen</i> (Autumn Equinox)	Sept. 24
<i>Han Lu</i> (Cold Dew)	Oct. 9
<i>Shuang Chiang</i> (Frost's Descent)	Oct. 24
<i>Li Tung</i> (Winter Commences)	Nov. 8
<i>Hsiao Hsueh</i> (Slight Snow)	Nov. 23
<i>Ta Hsueh</i> (Great Snow)	Dec. 8
<i>Tung Chih</i> (Winter Solstice)	Dec. 23

## ECLIPSES

<i>Solar Total Eclipse</i>	Feb. 5
<i>Lunar Partial Eclipse</i> (not visible in China)	Feb. 20
<i>Solar Penumbra Eclipse</i> (not visible in China)	Aug. 1
<i>Lunar Partial Eclipse</i>	Aug. 16

## PERPETUAL CALENDAR

The figures in the following columns give the date of the first Sunday in the month under which they appear.

	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May.	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
1943	3	7	7	4	2	6	4	1	5	3	7	5
1944	2	6	5	2	7	4	2	6	3	1	5	3
1945	7	4	4	1	6	3	1	5	2	7	4	2
1946	6	3	3	7	5	2	7	4	1	6	3	1
1947	5	2	2	6	4	1	6	3	7	5	2	7
1948	4	1	7	4	2	6	4	1	5	3	7	5
1949	2	6	6	3	1	5	3	7	4	2	6	4
1950	1	5	5	2	7	4	2	6	3	1	5	3
1951	7	4	4	1	6	3	1	5	2	7	4	2

**Example:**—To find out the day of the week on July 7, 1944. July 2 is Sunday; therefore, July 7 will be Friday.

## TIME CHART

CHUNGKING TIME			8.00 a.m.	4.00 p.m.
CORRESPONDS TO				
Aden	...	...	4.00 a.m.	Noon
Argentina	...	...	9.00 p.m.	5.00 a.m.
Australia, West	...	...	9.00 a.m.	5.00 p.m.
Australia, South	...	...	10.30 a.m.	6.30 p.m.
Australia, Other Parts	...	...	11.00 a.m.	7.00 p.m.
Austria	...	...	2.00 a.m.	10.00 a.m.
Belgium	...	...	1.00 a.m.	9.00 a.m.
Brazil	...	...	10.00 p.m.	6.00 a.m.
Canada, Eastern Zone	...	...	8.00 p.m.	4.00 a.m.
Canada, Pacific Zone	...	...	5.00 p.m.	1.00 a.m.
Colombia, Republic of	...	...	8.00 p.m.	4.00 a.m.
Cuba	...	...	8.00 p.m.	4.00 a.m.
Czecho-Slovakia	...	...	2.00 a.m.	10.00 a.m.
Denmark	...	...	2.00 a.m.	10.00 a.m.
France	...	...	1.00 a.m.	9.00 a.m.
French Indo-China	...	...	8.00 a.m.	4.00 p.m.
Germany	...	...	2.00 a.m.	10.00 a.m.
Great Britain	...	...	1.00 a.m.	9.00 a.m.
Greece	...	...	3.00 a.m.	11.00 a.m.
Holland	...	...	1.20 a.m.	9.20 a.m.
Honolulu	...	...	2.30 p.m.	10.30 p.m.
Hungary	...	...	2.00 a.m.	10.00 a.m.
India	...	...	6.30 a.m.	2.30 p.m.
Italy	...	...	2.00 a.m.	10.00 a.m.
Japan	...	...	10.00 a.m.	6.00 p.m.
Jugoslavia	...	...	2.00 a.m.	10.00 a.m.
Luxemburg	...	...	1.00 a.m.	9.00 a.m.
Mexico	...	...	7.00 p.m.	3.00 a.m.
Netherlads India	...	...	8.30 a.m.	4.30 p.m.
New Zealand	...	...	12.30 p.m.	8.30 p.m.
Norway	...	...	2.00 a.m.	10.00 a.m.
Philippines	...	...	9.00 a.m.	5.00 p.m.
Poland	...	...	2.00 a.m.	10.00 a.m.
Portugal	...	...	1.00 a.m.	9.00 a.m.
South Africa	...	...	3.00 a.m.	11.00 a.m.
Spain	...	...	1.00 a.m.	9.00 a.m.
Straits Settlements	...	...	8.20 a.m.	4.20 p.m.
Sweden	...	...	2.00 a.m.	10.00 a.m.
Switzerland	...	...	2.00 a.m.	10.00 a.m.
Thailand	...	...	8.00 a.m.	4.00 p.m.
Turkey	...	...	3.00 a.m.	11.00 a.m.
U.S.A., Eastern Zone	...	...	8.00 p.m.	4.00 a.m.
U.S.A., Central Zone	...	...	7.00 p.m.	3.00 a.m.
U.S.A., Mountain Zone	...	...	6.00 p.m.	2.00 a.m.
U.S.A., Pacific Zone	...	...	5.00 p.m.	1.00 a.m.
U.S.S.R., Moscow	...	...	4.00 a.m.	Noon
U.S.S.R., Vladivostok (Local Time)	...	...	11.00 a.m.	7.00 p.m.
U.S.S.R., Vladivostok (Telegraph Time)	...	...	4.00 a.m.	Noon



# CONVERSION TABLES

For Weights and Measures Between Chinese and Foreign Systems

## LINEAL MEASUREMENT

Meter	Shih Chih	English Foot
1	3	3.2808
0.3000	1	1.0936
0.3048	0.9144	1

## LINEAL MEASUREMENT

Kilometer	Shih Li	Mile
1	2	0.6214
0.5000	1	0.3107
1.6093	3.2187	1

## AREA

Area	Shih Mow	Acre
1	0.1500	0.0247
6.6000	1	0.1647
40.4685	6.0703	1

Kilogram	Pound
1	2.204622
5	11.023112
10	22.046223
15	33.069335
20	44.092447
25	55.115559
30	66.138670
35	77.161782
40	88.184894
45	99.208005
50	110.231117
55	121.254229
60	132.277340
65	143.300452
70	154.323563
75	165.346676
80	176.369787
85	187.392899
90	198.416011
95	209.439122

## CAPACITY

Litre and Shih Sheng	English Gallon	American Gallon (liquid measure)	American Gallon (dry measure)
1	0.2200	0.2642	0.2270
4.5460	1	1.2009	1.0321
3.7853	0.8327	1	0.8594
4.4048	0.9689	1.1636	1

## WEIGHTS

Kilogram	Shih Chin (New Catty)	Pound
1	2	2.2046
0.5000	1	1.1023
0.4536	0.9072	1

## WEIGHTS

Tonne	Picul	English Ton (long ton)	American Ton (short ton)
1	20	0.9842	1.1023
0.0500	1	0.0492	0.0551
1.0160	20.3209	1	1.1200
0.9072	18.1437	0.8929	1

Pound	Kilogram
1	0.453592
5	2.267962
10	4.535924
15	6.803886
20	9.071849
25	11.339811
30	13.607778
35	15.875735
40	18.143697
45	20.411659
50	22.679621
55	24.947584
60	27.215546
65	29.483508
70	31.751470
75	34.019432
80	36.287394
85	38.555356
90	40.823318
95	43.091281

## EQUIVALENTS OF DIFFERENT KINDS OF WEIGHTS

Long Ton	0.9842059	0.09842059	0.0009842059	0.0492103	0.000492103	0.0004464285	0.00059524	1	0.059524
Picul Old Scale	16.53465	1.653465	0.01653465	0.826735	0.00826735	0.0075	0.01	16.80	1
Catty Old Scale	1653.465	165.3465	1.653465	82.6735	0.826735	0.75	1	1680.0	100.0
Pound Old Scale	2204.62	220.462	2.20462	110.231	1.10231	1	1.33333	2240.0	133.333
Catty New Scale	2000.0	200.0	2.0	100.0	1	0.907186	1.20958	2032.1	120.958
Picul New Scale	20.0	2.0	0.02	1	0.01	0.00907186	0.0120958	20.321	1.20958
Kilogram	1000.0	100.0	1	50.0	0.5	0.45359	0.60479	1016.0475	60.479
Quintal	10.0	1	0.01	0.5	0.005	0.0045359	0.0060479	10.160475	0.60479
Tonne	1	0.1	0.001	0.05	0.0005	0.00045359	0.00060479	1.0160475	0.060479



# CONTENTS

	PAGE.		PAGE.
<b>CHAPTER I—GENERAL INFORMATION</b>	<b>1—38</b>	Program of Armed Resistance and National Reconstruction, 61—62	
Area and Population	1—2	Manifesto of the 8th Plenary Session of the 5th C. E. C., 62—64	
Coastal Configuration	3	Manifesto of the 9th Plenary Session of the 5th C. E. C., 64—65	
Topography	3—4	Manifesto of the 10th Plenary Session of the 5th C. E. C., 65—66	
Hydrography	4—8	<b>San Min Chu I (Summarized)</b>	<b>66—83</b>
The Yellow River, 4—5		The Principle of Nationalism (6 lectures), 67—71	
The Yangtze River, 5		The Principle of People's Rights (6 lectures), 71—77	
The West River, 5—6		The Principle of People's Livelihood (4 lectures), 77—83	
Other Rivers, 6—7			
Lakes, 7—8		<b>CHAPTER III—GOVERNMENT STRUCTURE</b>	<b>84—135</b>
<b>Climate</b>	<b>8—16</b>	<b>Party and Government</b>	<b>84—88</b>
<b>History</b>	<b>17—25</b>	The Political Committee, 84—85	
Chronology of Chinese Dynasties, 25		The Supreme National Defense Council, 85—86	
<b>Religion</b>	<b>26—29</b>	The Central Planning Board, 87	
Ancestor Worship, 26		The Party and Political Work Perscrutation Committee, 87—88	
Confucianism, 26		<b>The Central Government</b>	<b>88—99</b>
Taoism, 26—27		The National Government (Revised Organic Law), 88—91	
Buddhism, 27—28		The Executive Yuan, 91—92	
Lamaism, 28—29		The Legislative Yuan, 93—94	
Mohammedanism, 29		The Judicial Yuan, 94—95	
<b>Language</b>	<b>29—32</b>	The Examination Yuan, 95—97	
<b>Mongolia and Tibet</b>	<b>32—35</b>	The Control Yuan, 97—99	
<b>Overseas Chinese</b>	<b>35—38</b>	<b>The Local Governments</b>	<b>99—108</b>
		The Provincial Government, 99—100	
<b>CHAPTER II—THE KUOMINTANG</b>	<b>39—83</b>	Office of the Special Administrative Inspector, 100—101	
<b>A Brief History of the Kuomintang</b>	<b>39—41</b>	The Municipal Government, 101—102	
<b>Party National Congresses and C. E. C. Plenary Sessions</b>	<b>41—43</b>	The Hsien Gov't., 103—106	
<b>Chronology of the Kuomintang</b>	<b>43—44</b>	War-Area Hsien Administration, 107—108	
<b>Organization of the Kuomintang</b>	<b>44—48</b>	<b>Representative Bodies</b>	<b>109—115</b>
<b>San Min Chu I Youth Corps</b>	<b>48—49</b>	The People's Political Council (Organic Law), 110—112	
<b>Kuomintang's Relations With Other Parties</b>	<b>49—55</b>		
The Chinese Communist Party, 49—51			
The Nationalist Socialist Party, 51—54			
The Chinese Youth Party, 54—55			
<b>Important Kuomintang Documents</b>	<b>55—66</b>		
Fundamentals of National Reconstruction, 55—57			
The Kuomintang's Political Program, 57—58			
Manifesto of the Extraordinary National Congress of the Kuomintang, 58—61			



PAGE.	PAGE.
Provisional Provincial Council 112—113	Germany and Italy 173—175
Provisional Municipal Council 113	China's Relations with Denmark, Rumania and Thailand 175—176
The Hsien (County) Council 113—115	The Shanghai Municipal Council 177—178
The Constitutional Movement 115—127	Abrogation of Unequal Treaties 178—191
Program of Political Tutelage, 116	End of Extraterritoriality, 178—179
Provisional Constitution for the Period of Political Tutelage, 116—119	Rendition of Foreign Con- cessions, Settlements and Leased Territories, 179
The Final Draft Constitution of the Republic of China, 120—127	Resumption of Tariff Auto- nomy, 180
National General Mobiliza- tion 127—135	Sino-American Negotiations (New Sino-American Treaty), 180—184
The National General Mobi- lization Act, 127—129	Sino-British Negotiations (New Sino-British Treaty), 184—190
Fundamentals Governing the Enforcement of the National General Mobilization Act, 129—134	Other Countries Ready to Relinquish their Special Rights in China, 190—191
Provisional Regulations Governing Penalties for Violators of the National General Mobilization Act, 134—135	Appendix 191—194
	Regulations Governing the Treatment of Enemy Aliens, 191—193
	Regulations Governing the Disposal of Enemy Property, 193
CHAPTER IV—FOREIGN RELATIONS 136—194	Regulations Governing Pass- ports and Visas for Missionaries of Countries Having No Diplomatic Relations with China, 193—194
Chinese Documents Concern- ing Japanese Invasion and the Creation of Puppet Regimes 136—138	CHAPTER V—PUBLIC FINANCE 195—236
China's Appeal to the League and Signatories of the Nine-Power Treaty 138—143	General Review 195
China's Declaration of War on Japan 143—144	Some Wartime Financial Measures 195—196
Joint Declarations of the United Nations 144—145	Public Treasury System 196—198
Joint Military Operations 145—147	Budget (Budget Law of 1937) 198—199
China's Relations with the United States 147—154	Taxation 199
China's Relations with Great Britain 154—159	Direct Taxes 199—201
China's Relations with Australia, Burma, Canada and India 159—166	Collection of Land Tax in Kind 201—202
China's Relations with France 166—169	Taxes under the Internal Revenue Administration 202—203
China's Relations with the U.S.S.R. 169—170	Monopoly of Daily Necessities 203—205
China's Relations with Czechoslovakia, The Nether- lands, Norway, Poland, The Vatican and Liberia 171—172	Customs Revenue 205—206
China's Relations with Near Eastern Countries 172—173	Loan Services 206—207
China's Relations with	Loans Issued During the War 207—208
	The Boxer Indemnity 208—210
	Financial Administration 210
	Local Finance 210—211

PAGE	PAGE
China's Future Financial Foundation 211—212	Establishment of Towing Stations, 253
Revised Organic Law of the Ministry of Finance 212—216	National Conservancy Com- mission, 253—254
Differentiation of National and Local Finances 216	Shipping Companies, 254—255
Differentiation of National and Local Revenues and Expenditures 217—218	Merchant Marine College, 255
The Public Treasury Law 218—219	Civil Aviation 255—264
Regulations Governing Local Financial Reform 220—221	The China National Aviation Corporation, 256—260
Regulations Governing the 31st Year Allied Victory Gold Bonds 221—222	The Eurasia Aviation Cor- poration, 260—263
Regulations Governing the 31st Year Allied Victory Bonds 222	The Southwestern Aviation Corporation, 263
Tax and Tariff Rates 223—225	Civil Aviation Law, 263—264
Chinese Customs Revenue 226—229	Stage Transportation 264—266
Imports and Exports in Wartime 229—230	Tele-Communications 266—278
Customs Revenue and Loans, Foreign and Domestic 231—232	Historical Survey, 266—267
List of Internal Loans Issued by the National Govern- ment 232—233	Telegraph, 267
Tables 234—236	Radio, 267—268
	Telephone, 268—269
	Radio Photo, 269—271
	Provisional Rules for Radio Photo-Telegram Service between China and the U. S. A., 271
	Equipment and Supplies, 271—272
	Assistance in Burma, 272
	Tele-Communication Act, 273—275
	Regulations for Press Tele- grams, 275—278
CHAPTER VI—COMMUNI- CATIONS 237—290	Broadcasting 278—280
Administration 237	Postal Administration 280—290
Railways 237—242	Postal Trucks, 285
Construction in Wartime, 238—240	Remittances and Savings, 285
Liquidation of Lost Railways, 240	Postal Tariff, 285—288
Railways in Operation, 240	Summary of Wartime Commu- nication Statistics, 288—290
War Transportation, 240—242	
Wartime Service, 242	CHAPTER VII—COURTS AND PRISONS 291—320
Highways 242—250	Courts 291—293
Construction of New Roads, 243—245	Number of Courts, 292
Yunnan-Burma Highway, 245—246	Number of Cases, 293
Highway Traffic Control, 246	The Supreme Court 293—295
National Licences, 246—247	The Administrative Court 296
Fuel Problem and Substitutes, 247	The Disciplinary Punishment Commission 297
Motor Vehicle Repairs and Supplies, 247—248	Prisons 297—298
China Transport Corporation, 248—249	Model Prisons 298
Principal Highways in Occupied Areas, 250	Judicial Officials 298—299
Shipping 250—255	Pension for Judges 300
Wartime Measures, 250—251	Judicial Expenditures 300
Commandeering of Ships for Defense, 251—252	Public Notary System 300
Shipbuilding Program, 252	List of Existing Civil and Criminal Laws 301—306
	List of High Courts, Branch High Courts, and District Courts 307—316



	PAGE
List of Modern Prisons in Various Provinces	316—318
Civil and Criminal Cases Handled by Chinese Courts from 1930 to 1941 Concerning Nationals of Countries Having no Consular Jurisdiction in China	319
Number of Lawyers Holding Certificates from the Ministry of Justice	320
<b>CHAPTER VIII—MILITARY AFFAIRS</b>	<b>321—349</b>
The National Military Council	321—323
Personnel of Principal Organs under the National Military Council, 322—323	
<b>Army</b>	<b>323—332</b>
Field Organization, 323	
Equipment and Supplies, 323—324	
Military Education, 225—326	
Promotion and Age Limit, 326	
Decorations and Compensation, 326—327	
Military Discipline—The New Fourth Army Incident and Generalissimo Chiang's Speech, 327—332	
<b>Air Force</b>	<b>332—336</b>
Air Battles, 333—335	
Aviation Education, 335—336	
Air Defense, 336	
Air Force Ranks, 336	
<b>Navy</b>	<b>337—340</b>
Organization, 337	
Operations, 337—338	
Naval Ranks, 339	
Naval Vessels, 339—340	
Naval Education, 340	
<b>Appendix</b>	<b>340—349</b>
Emergency Law Governing the Punishment of Crimes Detrimental to the Security of the Chinese Republic, 340	
Regulations Governing Treatment of Prisoners of War, 340—343	
Regulations Governing The Punishment of Traitors, 343—344	
Wartime Military Law of China, 344—345	
Military Secrets Protection Law, 345	
Martial Law, 345—346	
Air Defense Law, 346—347	
Conscription Law, 347—349	

	PAGE
<b>CHAPTER IX—THE SINO-JAPANESE HOSTILITIES</b>	<b>350—367</b>
How the War Began	350
Chinese Strategy	350—351
Japanese Striking Power	351
Chinese Gaining Strength	351
Japanese Casualties	351—352
Campaigns Fought	352
Battle of Shanghai	352—353
Battle of Sinkow	353—354
Taierhchwang Victory	354—355
Battle of Hsuechow	355—356
Wuhan Battle	356—357
Victory in Sui-Tsao Area	357—358
Changsha Victory I	358—359
Battle of Kunlunkwan	359
Southern Honan Battle	359—361
Battle of Shangkao	361—362
Chungtiao Range Campaign	362
Changsha Victory II	363
Changsha Victory III	363—365
Battle of Burma	365
Chekiang-Kiangsi Battle	365—367

## **CHAPTER X—EDUCATION AND RESEARCH**

<b>Higher Education</b>	<b>368—390</b>
History of Higher Education, 368—369	
Redistribution and Decentralization, 369—373	
War Damages, 373—377	
Newly-Established Institutions, 377—378	
Improvements in Curriculum, 378—379	
Higher Education Finances, 379—380	
Buildings and Equipment, 380—381	
Entrance Examinations, 381—382	
Employment for College Graduates, 382—384	
Promotion of Graduate Studies, 384—385	
Academic Research, 385—386	
Restrictions on Sending Students Abroad, 386—387	
List of Institutions of Higher Learning, 387—390	
<b>Secondary Education</b>	<b>391—395</b>
History of Secondary Education, 391	
Improvements in Middle Schools, 391—392	
Normal Schools, 392	
Vocational Schools, 392—393	
Secondary Education Finances, 393—394	
Number of Students, 394	
Number of Graduates, 395	

	PAGE
<b>Primary Education</b>	<b>395—397</b>
Primary Education Statistics, 395—396	
People's Education, 396	
Number of Schools, 396—397	
<b>Social Education</b>	<b>397—403</b>
Administrative Organizations, 397—398	
Vehicles of Social Education, 398—400	
Drama as Medium, 400	
Music and Fine Arts, 400—401	
Radio and Motion Pictures, 401—402	
Phonetic System, 402	
Physical Culture, 402	
Social Education Finances, 402—403	
<b>Border Education</b>	<b>403—405</b>
<b>Overseas Chinese Education</b>	<b>405</b>
<b>The Academia Sinica</b>	<b>405—411</b>
The Institute of History and Philology, 405—406	
The Institute of Social Sciences, 406	
The Institute of Zoology and Botany, 406—407	
The Institute of Meteorology, 407	
The Institute of Geology, 407—408	
The Institute of Physics, 408	
The Institute of Psychology, 408—409	
The Institute of Astronomy, 409	
The Institute of Chemistry, 409—410	
The Institute of Engineering, 410—411	
The National Research Council, 411	
<b>National Academy of Peiping</b>	<b>411—414</b>
<b>Sino-American Cooperation for Promotion of Education</b>	<b>414—422</b>
<b>Sino-British Cooperation for Promotion of Education</b>	<b>422—426</b>
<b>International Culture Service</b>	<b>426—427</b>
<b>Tables</b>	<b>427—430</b>
<b>CHAPTER XI—INDUSTRY AND LABOR</b>	<b>431—476</b>
<b>Industrial Policy and Administration</b>	<b>431—433</b>
<b>State-owned Industries</b>	<b>433—436</b>
Electrical Power, 434	
Metallurgy, 434—435	
Machinery, 435	
Electrical Manufacturing, 435	
Chemical Industry, 436	

	PAGE
<b>Private Industries</b>	<b>436—454</b>
Removal of Factories, 436—437	
Government Assistance and Supervision, 437—441	
Number of Factories and their Production, 441—443	
A Review of Private Industries, 443—454	
<b>Industrial Cooperatives</b>	<b>454—462</b>
Organization, 454—456	
Development, 456—459	
Capital and Loans, 459	
Education and Welfare, 460	
Other Activities, 461—462	
International Interest, 462	
<b>Control of Industrial Materials</b>	<b>462—464</b>
Iron and Steel, 462	
Cement, 462—463	
Caustic Soda, 463—464	
<b>Labor Conditions</b>	<b>464—476</b>
Wartime Labor Policy and Administration, 464—467	
Labor Welfare, 467—468	
Model Labor Unions, 468—469	
Control of Skilled Workers, 469—470	
Wages, 470—474	
Labor Organizations, 474—476	
China and the I.L.O., 476	
<b>CHAPTER XII—MINERAL RESOURCES</b>	<b>477—493</b>
<b>Mining Law</b>	<b>477</b>
<b>Mining Areas</b>	<b>477—478</b>
<b>Prewar Mineral Production of China</b>	<b>479</b>
<b>Mineral Production in the Southwest</b>	<b>480</b>
<b>Important Mineral Reserves in China and Southwest China</b>	<b>480</b>
Coal	481—483
Petroleum	483—484
Iron	484—485
Tungsten	485—486
Manganese	486
Gold and Silver	487
Copper	488
Lead, Zinc, Tin	489
Antimony and Mercury	490
Molybdenum, Nickel, Arsenic, Bismuth, Bauxite, Salt	491
Gypsum, Saltpeter, Phosphorus Sulphur	492—493
Alum, Graphite, Fluorspar, Talc, Clay, Asbestos, Limestone, Precious Stones	493



	PAGE		PAGE
<b>CHAPTER XIII—MONEY AND BANKING</b>	<b>494—523</b>	<b>CHAPTER XV—AGRICULTURAL ECONOMY</b>	<b>546—629</b>
Prewar Reforms	494—495	General Review	546—550
Emergency War Measures	495—497	Agricultural Production, Prewar and Wartime Compared	550—589
Three Conferences	497—498	Agricultural Policy and Administration	590—604
Joint Board	498—499	Agricultural Reconstruction, 590—599	
Control Measures	499—500	Forestry, 599—601	
Functional Specialization	500—501	Animal Husbandry and Fishery, 601—602	
The Central Bank of China	501—502	Reclamation, 602—604	
The Bank of China	502—503	<b>Land and Farm Economy</b>	<b>604—615</b>
The Bank of Communications	503—504	Land Tenure and Tenancy, 604—606	
The Farmers' Bank of China	504	Systems of Paying Land Rent, 606—608	
The Postal Remittances and Savings Bank	505	Farm Organization, 608—610	
Provincial Banks	505—506	Farm Prices and Purchasing Power, 611—614	
Hsien Banks	506—507	Land Administration and Finance, 614—615	
Insurance	507—509	<b>Outline for the Enforcement of Land Policy in Wartime</b>	<b>615—617</b>
Foreign Exchange Control	509	<b>Regulations Governing The Administration of Land Finance by the Farmers' Bank of China</b>	<b>617—618</b>
Rural Loans	510	<b>Land Bonds, Farm Loans and Irrigation Loans</b>	<b>618—625</b>
Savings Deposits	510—511	<b>Cooperative Banks and Rural Cooperatives</b>	<b>625—629</b>
Customs Gold Unit	511		
Appendix	512—523		
Summary Regulations Governing Wartime National Financial Structure, 512		<b>CHAPTER XVI—PRICE AND COMMODITY CONTROL</b>	<b>630—664</b>
Revised Organic Law of the Joint Board of the Four Government Banks, 512—514		<b>The Rise of Commodity Prices (six periods)</b>	<b>630—633</b>
The Hsien Bank Law, 514—515		<b>Control Measures</b>	<b>633—648</b>
Summary Regulations Governing the Promotion of Thrift and Reconstruction Savings Deposits, 515—516		Fundamentals Governing The Enforcement of Price Stabilization, 638—640	
Provisional Regulations of Banking Control in Wartime 516—517		Program For Strengthening Price Control, 644—647	
Revised Regulations Governing War Risk Insurance Policies of the Central Trust of China, 517—518		Regulations Governing The Enforcement of The Program For Strengthening Price Control, 647—648	
List of Government, Private, Provincial and Hsien Banks 518—521		<b>Food Control</b>	<b>648—664</b>
Tables, 521—523		The Food Administration, 648—650	
		The Control of Food Supply, 650—654	
		Food Treasury Notes, 654	
		Storage Facilities and Savings, 654—655	
<b>CHAPTER XIV—FOREIGN TRADE</b>	<b>524—545</b>		
Analysis of Imports and Exports	524—526		
Export Control Before the Pacific War	526—528		
Import Control Before the Pacific War	528—530		
Foreign Trade Commission	530—533		
Trade Policy After the Pacific War	533		
Exportable Agricultural and Mineral Products, Wood Oil, Tea, Silk, Bristles, Wool, Minerals (Tables)	533—545		

	PAGE		PAGE
<b>Appendix</b>	<b>655—664</b>	<b>CHAPTER XVIII—THE PRESS</b>	<b>696—711</b>
Regulations Governing The Control of Agricultural, Mining, Industrial and Commercial Enterprises in Time of Emergency, 655—657		History	696
Regulations Governing the Valuation of Commodities and The Suppression of Speculation and Manipulation in Time of Emergency, 657—658		Newspapers in China	697—698
Regulations Governing the Purchase and Sale of Daily Necessities at Equitable Prices, 658—660		Wartime Press	698—699
Regulations Outlawing The Hoarding of and Profiteering in Important Daily Necessities in Time of Emergency, 660—662		Army Papers	699—700
Regulations Governing the Control of Industrial and Commercial Enterprises and Organizations in Time of Emergency, 662—664		Shanghai Journalists	700—701
		Two Foreign Awards	701—702
		Central News Agency	702—703
		China News Dispatched	703—704
		Radio Broadcasts	704
		Foreign Correspondents	704
		Facilities for Correspondents	704—705
		Press Censorship	705—706
		Press Laws	706—707
		Journalists' Day	707
		Newspapermen's Law	707—708
		Publications Law	708—711
<b>CHAPTER XVII—PUBLIC HEALTH AND MEDICINE</b>	<b>665—695</b>	<b>CHAPTER XIX—RELIEF ACTIVITIES</b>	<b>712—759</b>
History	665	<b>National Relief Commission</b>	<b>712—731</b>
National Health Administration	665—671	Network of Relief Organs, 712—715	
Subsidiary Organizations, 666—667		Air Raid Relief, 715—717	
Statistical Summary, 667—671		Work Relief Program, 717—719	
<b>State Medicine</b>	<b>671—674</b>	Relief of Refugee Children, 719—720	
<b>Epidemic Control (plague, cholera, and other diseases)</b>	<b>675—678</b>	Flood Relief, 720	
Bacterial Warfare (Dr. P. Z. King's Statement)	679—682	Social Relief, 720—722	
Improvement of Nutrition	682—684	Occupational Relief, 723—724	
Medical Supplies	684—687	Air Raid Relief, 724	
Old Style Medical Practitioners	687	Medical Relief, 724—725	
Hospitals in China	688—689	Relief to South Seas Chinese, 725—727	
Conscription of Personnel	689	Readjustment and Reorganization, 727—728	
Judicial Medicine	689—690	War-Area Relief, 728	
Army Medical Service	690—691	Famine Relief in Honan, 728—731	
Army Medical Administration	691—692	<b>National Refugee Children's Association</b>	<b>731—733</b>
Stations For Wounded Soldiers	692	The China Wartime Child Relief Association	733
Central Wounded Soldiers' Administration	692—693	The National Child Welfare Association of China	733—734
Chinese Red Cross	693—695	National Christian Service Council for Wounded Soldiers	734—735
		Y. M. C. A. Emergency Service to Soldiers	735—736
		Friends of the Wounded Society	736—738
		National Women's War Relief Association	739—740
		Foreign Relief Activities	740—748
		United China Relief, 740—747	
		British Contributions, 747—748	
		Indian Contributions, 748	
		<b>Appendix</b>	<b>749—759</b>



List of UCR Organizations in U. S. A. and China, 749	
Advisory Committee, 749	
Committee on Coordination, 749—750	
Child Welfare Committee, 750	
Medical Committee, 751	
Educational Committee, 751	
Social Rehabilitation Committee, 752	
Disaster Relief Committee, 752—753	
Economic Reconstruction Committee, 753	
Policy in Use of United China Relief Funds, 753—754	
National Student Relief Committee, 754—756	
Committee on Faculty Aid, 757	
Statement of UCR Fund Allocated through the Associated Boards for Christian Colleges in China, 758	
American Advisory Committee—List of administrative organs through which relief funds are distributed, 759	
<b>CHAPTER XX—FOREIGN MISSIONS</b>	<b>760—791</b>
<b>Introduction</b>	<b>760</b>
<b>Protestant Missions</b>	<b>761—778</b>
Chinese Constituency, 761—762	
Migration to West China, 762—763	
Rural Church Program, 763	
A. The National Christian Council of China, 763—768	
Relief Work, 764	
Rural Welfare, 764—765	
Forward Movement, 765—766	
New Projects, 766—767	
Christian Education, 767—768	
History, 768	
B. General Assembly of the Church of Christ in China, 768—769	
C. The Y. M. C. A. in China, 769—773	
D. The Y. W. C. A. in China, 773—776	
E. Medical Missions, 776—777	
F. Christian Literature, 777—778	

<b>The Catholic Church</b>	<b>778—791</b>
Relief Work, 779—780	
Medical Work, 780—781	
Care of War Orphans, 781—782	
Supreme Sacrifices, 782	
A Chinese Bishop, 782—783	
German and Italian Missionaries, 783—785	
Distribution of Catholic Institutions, 785—788	
History, 788—790	
Educational Work, 790—791	
<b>CHAPTER XXI—CHUNG-KING</b>	<b>792—821</b>
<b>Background</b>	<b>792—793</b>
<b>Population</b>	<b>793—795</b>
<b>The Municipal Government</b>	<b>796—810</b>
General Survey, 796—797	
Social Welfare Bureau, 797—798	
Daily Necessities Public Sales Office, 799	
Price Control, 799—800	
Police Bureau, 800—801	
Finance Bureau, 801—804	
Public Works Bureau, 805—807	
Public Health Bureau, 808—809	
Food Administration Bureau, 809	
Bureau of Censorship for Books and Magazines, 809—810	
<b>Residents' Identification Card System</b>	<b>810—812</b>
Rules Governing Issuance and Inspection of Entry and Departure Permits in Chungking, 811—812	
<b>Industry and Commerce</b>	<b>812—813</b>
<b>Public Utilities</b>	<b>813—817</b>
Electric Light and Power, 813—814	
Water Works, 814	
Telephone, 815—817	
<b>Communications</b>	<b>818</b>
<b>Air, Raid and Air Defense</b>	<b>818—821</b>
<b>CHAPTER XXII—ASSOCIATIONS AND SOCIETIES</b>	<b>822—848</b>
<b>International Cultural Relations</b>	<b>822—823</b>
<b>Social Sciences</b>	<b>823—826</b>
<b>Education</b>	<b>826—828</b>
<b>Engineering</b>	<b>828—830</b>
<b>Medicine and Public Health</b>	<b>830—832</b>
<b>Natural Sciences</b>	<b>832—834</b>

Agriculture	834—835	CHAPTER XXIII—CHRONOLOGY OF MAJOR EVENTS	849—861
Finance and Statistics	835		
Culture	835—837		
Service and Fellowship	837—840	CHAPTER XXIV—GOVERNMENT DIRECTORY (List of Foreign Diplomats Attached)	862—876
War Service	840—841		
Charity	841		
Social Welfare	842		
Arts	842—843		
Physical Culture	843		
Religion	843—844	CHAPTER XXV—CHINESE WHO'S WHO	i—lxxvi
Miscellaneous	844—848		



## CHAPTER I

### GENERAL INFORMATION

#### AREA

The territory of the Republic of China extends from latitude 53° 52' 30" N. (Sajan Mountains) to 15° 16' N. (Triton Island of the Paracel Group to south of Hainan Island) and from longitude 73° 31' E. (the eastern fringe of the Pamirs) to 135° 2' 30" E. (the confluence of the Amur and Ussuri Rivers).

The Ministry of Interior's 1938 report gives the area of China at 11,562,184 square kilometers distributed as follows:

Province	Square Kilometers
Kiangsu	108,926
Chekiang	104,037
Anhwei	140,687
Kiangsi	173,089
Hupei	186,363
Hunan	205,591
Szechwan	370,750
Sikang	432,158
Shantung	146,073
Shansi	156,420
Honan	162,390
Hopei	140,258
Shensi	187,409
Fukien	118,738
Kwangtung	221,307
Kwangsi	218,923
Yunnan	403,680
Kweichow	179,478
Kansu	391,506
Chinghai	697,194
Ningsia	274,910
Sinkiang	1,828,418
Suiyuan	347,529
Chahar	278,937
Jehol	192,430
Liaoning	321,823
Kirin	283,380
Heilungkiang...	449,623

Special Municipalities	Square Kilometers
Nanking	466
Shanghai	893
Peiping	707
Tsingtao	749
Siking	15
Tientsin	55
Weihaiwei	663

#### Special Areas

Mongolia	1,621,201
Tibet	1,215,788
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>11,562,184</b>

(Szechwan's original area was 431,309 square kilometers and Sikang 371,599. In 1939, an area of 60,559 square kilometers in western and southwestern Szechwan was transferred to Sikang, thus reducing Szechwan area to 370,750 square kilometers and increasing Sikang area to 432,158 square kilometers.)

The frontier of China marches with Korea, Siberia, Russian Turkestan, Afghanistan, India, Burma, Indo-China, and the Pacific Ocean.

#### POPULATION

No census of the entire Chinese population has ever been taken and consequently estimates and reports on the total Chinese population have varied to a considerable degree. According to the Ministry of Interior, the population of China is as follows:



Locality	Hsiang (or Chen)	Pao	Chia	Population
Kiangsu ...	8,066 (2)	68,380 (3)	717,786 (2)	36,469,321 (3)
Chekiang ...	3,132	42,971	448,670	21,776,045
Anhui ...	2,410	26,078	285,652	22,704,538
Kiangsi ...	2,381	23,853	226,564	13,794,159
Hupeh ...	2,381	38,386	369,604	24,658,988
Hunan ...	1,605	19,783	251,322	27,186,730
Szechwan (1) ...	4,511	71,952	740,378	46,403,006
Sikang ...	301	2,666	24,889	1,755,542
Shantung (2) ...	.....	.....	.....	38,099,741
Shansi (4) ...	.....	.....	.....	11,601,026
Honan (1) ...	5,602	43,403	447,342	31,805,621
Hopei (2) ...	.....	.....	.....	28,644,437
Shensi ...	1,029	7,317	145,703	9,799,617
Fukien ...	1,449	15,751	170,488	11,990,441
Kwangtung (1) ...	4,980	59,673	589,711	32,338,795
Kwangsi ...	2,324	23,969	238,795	14,254,609
Yunnan (1) ...	3,043	18,126	181,819	10,853,359
Kweichow ...	2,120	15,412	156,449	10,487,367
Kansu ...	829	7,648	79,995	6,255,467
Chinghai ...	235	937	10,018	1,512,823
Ningsia ...	131	642	8,471	735,763
Sinkiang (5) ...	.....	.....	.....	4,360,020
Suiyuan ...	.....	.....	.....	2,083,693
Chahar (3) ...	.....	.....	.....	2,305,957
Jehol (6) ...	.....	.....	.....	2,184,723
Liaoning (7) ...	.....	.....	.....	15,253,694
Kirin (8) ...	.....	.....	.....	7,354,459
Heilungkiang (8) ...	.....	.....	.....	3,749,367
Nanking (3) ...	.....	.....	.....	1,019,148
Shanghai (3) ...	.....	.....	.....	3,726,757
Peiping (3) ...	.....	.....	.....	1,550,561
Tsingtao ...	.....	.....	.....	590,374
Tientsin (3) ...	.....	.....	.....	1,217,616
Weihaiwei (9) ...	.....	.....	.....	222,247
Mongolia (10) ...	.....	.....	.....	880,000
Tibet (10) ...	.....	.....	.....	750,000
Chungking ...	46	447	4,911	417,379
Overseas Chinese	.....	.....	.....	8,546,374
TOTAL ...	46,576	487,394	5,098,567	459,339,764

Note:—All figures for 1940 except

- (1) 1939  
(2) 1936  
(3) 1935  
(4) 1934  
(5) 1933

- (6) 1931  
(7) 1930  
(8) 1929  
(9) 1937  
(10) Estimated

The nation has about 26,000,000 non-Chinese speaking peoples mostly in the northeastern, northwestern, and southwestern provinces. A rapid process of

cultural assimilation as a result of inter-marriage and the development of education and communication has brought about a new Chinese nation in the making.

### COASTAL CONFIGURATION

The coast-line of China, 8,630 kilometers, extends from the mouth of the Yalu River in Liaoning to Tungning in southwestern Kwangtung, embracing Liaoning, Hopei, Shantung, Kiangsu, Chekiang, Fukien and Kwangtung. The northern part (north of Hangchow Bay) is alluvial in nature, except the Liaotung and Shantung Peninsulas; the southern is mainly granitic. Along the two northern peninsulas and the southern coast are innumerable islands, harbors and inlets. Shoals fringe the northern coast and navigation depends on channels made by rivers.

A chain of volcanic islands (Kuriles, Japan, Loochoos, Formosa, Philippines) separate the China seas from the Western Pacific. The China seas are:

The Yellow Sea (including the Gulfs of Chihli and Liaoning),

The East China Sea (from the estuary of the Yangtze River to the Formosa Strait),

The South China Sea (south of the Formosa Strait).

The depth of the China seas is more or less uniform. The deepest, around Hainan Island, is 260 meters whereas that of the Gulf of Chihli is 102 meters.

### TOPOGRAPHY

Within the boundaries of China are arrayed numerous physiographic features which include almost every known type of topographic expression. Mountains occupy 30 per cent of the national area, plateaus 34 per cent, hilly regions 9 per cent, basins 16 per cent, and alluvial plains 10 per cent.

Chinese mountain systems, according to the old school geographers, may be said to start from the Pamir Plateau. With a general tendency of running from west to east, they may be grouped into five principal chains. These chains are:

The Altai Range which forms the boundary mountains between China and the U. S. S. R.,

The Tianshan Range across the northern part of Sinkiang,

The Kunlun Range which is again divided into several branches spreading out to Chinese provinces.

The Trans-Himalaya Range,

The Himalaya Range.

Geologically, the northern Chinese mountains were mostly formed by faulting and the southern mountains by folding. The Altai Range is a klippe extending from north-west-west to south-east-east. Step faults on the south of the range formed the Sungaria Basin. Folding formed the Tianshan Range which developed into a number of parallel chains including the Bogdo Ola Range and the Kuruk-Tag Range.

The Kunlun Range is also mainly formed by folding, spreading out to the Chinlin in Shensi and Yingshan in Suiyuan. The range is subdivided into the Altin Kagh Range including the Chilianshan (the Richthofen, Tolai, Alexander III, Tahsueh, Humboldt Mountains) which turns to the north and then east as the Alanshan and Khara Narin Ula and Yingshan Mountains; the Takus Daban including the Tchiman-Tag, the Sud Tsaidam, the Columbus Kette Mountains. South of the Tsaidam Basin is the Burch-Budda Mountain which is connected with the Arka-Tag Mountains of the Bayenkala Range in central Chinghai. It extends eastward to the Amnemachen and Sichingshan Ranges which reach out to the Chinlin Range.

Shantung, Liaoning, Heilungkiang, Chahar, Jehol and part of Honan Mountains were productions of faulting. No folding but faulting and warping happened within this district after the Sinian Age. A number of igneous formations were found between Chahar and Suiyuan, around Nanking and on both banks of the Hwai River.

Mountains on the north and south of the Chinlin are geologically younger and were forced into clines by the Chinlin.

The Chinese southern mountains in Tibet, Sikang, Yunnan and the Indo-China Peninsula were formed by folding in the Triassic Age when the Himalayas were formed.

Topographically, China can be divided into 19 natural districts:

Tibetan Plateau.—A mass of folding mountains with an average height of 5,000 meters. To the north is the Kunlun Range, the south the Himalayas and the east the Transverse Mountains in Yunnan and Sikang.

The Sungaria and Tarim Basins.—The Tianshan cuts Sinkiang into two basins with the Sungaria on its north and the Tarim on its south.



The Mongolian Steppe.—It connects the Sinkiang Basins to the west, bordered by the Yingshan on the south, the Hsingan Highland on the east and the Arctic on the north.

The Northeastern Plain.—South of the Hsingan Highland including the Sungari and Liao River Valleys.

The Liaoning and Kirin Hills.—South-east of the Northeastern Plain and east of Harbin and Mukden.

The Shantung Peninsula.—South of the Gulf of Chihli.

The North China Plain.—Includes the area east of the Taihangshan and north of the Hwaiyang Mountains, the lower sections of the Yellow and Hwai Rivers.

The Shansi Plateau.—West of the Taihangshan and east of the Luliangshan, including the Feng River Basin.

The Shensi Basin.—West of the Luliangshan and east of Kansu, including the Hotao (Yellow River bend) and the Wei River Basin.

The Kansu Corridor.—West of the Liupangshan, north of the Chilianshan, south of the Ningsia Desert and connects with the Shensi Basin on the east.

The Lower Yangtze.—The area between the Hwaiyang Mountains and Hangchow Bay.

The Southeastern Hills.—The coastal provinces of Chekiang and Fukien with the Wuyishan as its northern extreme.

The Central Yangtze Basin.—Between the Chinlin and the Nanlin Ranges including Hupeh, Hunan, Kiangsi and southern Anhwei.

The Szechwan Basin.—Bordered on the north by the Tapahshan and Chinlin, the Sikang Mountains on the west, Taliangshan on the southwest and Taloushan on the southeast.

The Kweichow Plateau.—South of the Szechwan Basin, including all of Kweichow Province.

The Southern Coastal Area.—South of the Nanlin Range including all of Kwangtung Province.

The Kwangsi Tableland.—Includes all of Kwangsi Province.

The Southwestern Mountains.—includes Yunnan Province.

The Sikang Mountains.—Includes all of Sikang Province.

The five sacred mountains in China are: Taishan in Shantung, Hwasshan in Shensi, Sungshan in Honan, Hengshan in Shansi and Hengshan in Hunan. The Buddhists have three sacred mountains—Wutaishan in Shansi, Omeishan in Szechwan and Pootoo Island off the Chekiang coast. The Taoists also have a sacred mountain—Lunghushan in Kiangsi.

### HYDROGRAPHY

Three large rivers drain the three natural divisions of China—the Yellow River in North China, the Yangtze River in Central China and the West River (Pearl River) in South China.

### THE YELLOW RIVER

The Yellow River, known to the Tibetans as "Machu" and Mongols as "Karamuren," derives its name from the heavy yellow silt it carries and is dubbed "China's Sorrow" because of its repeated overflows, floods, and changes in channel. The 4,672-kilometer river drains 531,200 square kilometers of territory, including Chinghai, Kansu, Ningsia, Suiyuan, Shansi, Shensi, Honan, Hopei and Shantung. Its source is from the Khotun-Nor in the 5,000-meter Bayenkala Range above the Kyaring-Nor and Oring-Nor (4,180 meters above sea level). It passes through a number of lakes in its upper course and issues forth in two successive bends, the first around the Amnemachen Mountains and the second around the Sichingshan Range. The river drops to 2,000 meters when it enters Kansu Province.

In Kansu, the Yellow River makes headway with great difficulty, following a circuitous route through the prolongation of the Kunlun Range. It receives in this part of its course the 230-kilometer Huang River from Chinghai and the 231-kilometer Tao River from southern Kansu.

Leaving Kansu, the river flows along the Alanshan Range in Ningsia after being forced by the Ordos Grassland to take a northward bend. Here, the river-bed has an altitude of about 1,000 meters and its water is used to irrigate the fertile Ningsia Valley through numerous canals, some dating back to the second century B.C. Afterwards it is forced to turn eastward by the Yingshan Range in Suiyuan, and then

southward by the Shansi Hills. In this section the river is reinforced by the Wutingho and Yensui, each about 230 kilometers long.

The river then cuts its way through the mountains on the Shensi-Shansi border in torrents and rapids. The Hukow Rapids have a gradual fall of 300 meters and are capable of creating 226,000 horse-power at the lowest estimated flow of 500 cubic meters per second. At Tungkwan, the river is forced to the east by the Chinlin Range. It receives the 692-kilometer Fen River from Shansi and the 864-kilometer Wei River (fed by the 460-kilometer Ching River and the 576-kilometer Lo River) from Shensi before dropping from the 400-meter-above-sea-level Tungkwan to the 50-100-meter North China Plain. In western Honan the 404-kilometer Lo River (which is fed by the 346-kilometer Yi River) and the 288-kilometer Sin River are added as the Yellow River rushes eastward to the Yellow Sea.

Below Chengchow, in central Honan, the river changed its course seven times in the present Hopei, Shantung and Kiangsu Provinces, from the 23rd century B.C. to the eve of the present war. The last pre-war change of channel happened in 1854 when the river left its old course in northern Kiangsu and emptied itself into the Gulf of Chihli through northern Shantung. In May, 1938, when a severe engagement was fought between the Chinese and Japanese armies in central Honan, the river dyke at Chungmou gave way under fire, and the greater portion of its water followed the Chialu and Tasha Rivers in eastern Honan and entered the Hwai River, afterwards emptying into the East China Sea in northern Kiangsu.

### THE YANGTZE RIVER

The Yangtze River forms the main artery of trade and communications in Central China. The 5,530-kilometer river passes through Chinghai, Sikang, Yunnan, Szechwan, Hunan, Hupeh, Kiangsi, Anhwei, and Kiangsu. It is generally known as the "Takiang" (the Great River) among the Chinese.

The river springs from the Tagh-Ulan Mountain on the Chinghai-Tibet-Sinkiang border, and flows in a southeasterly direction to the south of the Bayenkala mountains, which separates it from the

Yellow River. It is known as the "Ulan-Muran" among the Tibetans. At the town of Sogon-Gomba, the river bed is at an altitude of 5,000 meters. Flowing in a generally southern direction through the Sikang mountains, it is known locally as the "Chingsha" (Gold Sand) River. The 1,325-kilometer Yalung River (fed by the 346-kilometer Anning River) empties into it on the Sikang-Yunnan border. The Yunnan Mountains force the river to turn to the northeast at Chingshakiang and then to the east at Ipin in Szechwan where it receives the 864-kilometer Min River (which is fed by the 231-kilometer Chingyi River and the 691-kilometer Tatu River). It meets the 346-kilometer Tou River at Luhsien and the 1,000-kilometer Chialing River (with tributaries totalling 1,970 kilometers) at Chungking and the 922-kilometer Wu River at Fowling in Szechwan where it is known as the "Chwankiang" (Szechwan River); the 404-kilometer Li River, the 864-kilometer Yuan River (with tributaries totalling 930 kilometers), the 749-kilometer Tze River, the 1,152-kilometer Hsiang River (with tributaries totalling 1,000 kilometers) from Hunan; the 1,210-kilometer Han River (with tributaries totalling 980 kilometers) in Hupeh; and the 864-kilometer Kan River (with tributaries totalling 1,450 kilometers) in Kiangsi. The river is known as the "Changkiang" (Long River) in this section. After Chingkiang in Kiangsu, it is locally known as the "Yangtzeikiang," the Yangtze River.

At Batang in Sikang the river-bed is 3,000 meters above sea level. It drops steadily to 350 meters at Ipin. The river is only 90 meters in altitude at Ichang where the Yangtze Gorges end. It is navigable for junks to the border of Szechwan-Sikang-Yunnan and for steamers to Ipin.

### THE WEST RIVER

The West River basin is the smallest of the three areas. The 1,958-kilometer river drains 431,600 square kilometers in Yunnan, Kweichow, Kwangsi and Kwangtung. It begins from Hsuanwei in northern Yunnan and flows to the south until it turns northeasterly at Chiehhsiangtu on the Kweichow-Kwangsi border and is known as the "Hung" (Red) River. On leaving the Kweichow border, it takes a southeasterly direction and flows through Kwangsi to Wuchow on the Kwangsi-Kwangtung border. It



is known as the "West River" upon entering Kwangtung Province. At Samshui (Sansui) in central Kwangtung, the river turns south and, throwing off an arm (Canton River) on which stands the port of Canton, enters the South China Sea. It has seven main tributaries, including the 350-kilometer Peipang River on the Kweichow-Kwangsi border; the 520-kilometer Liu River, the 750-kilometer Yu River and the 350-kilometer Kwei River in Kwangsi; the 230-kilometer Ho River, the 350-kilometer North River (which is fed by the 230-kilometer Huang River and the 230-kilometer Sui River) and the 460-kilometer East River in Kwangtung.

The main part of the West River with its tributaries passes through a mountainous region, only the last 150 kilometers falling within the delta area. The river is navigable with steamers up to Wuchow, beyond which junks and steam launches reach Kweichow and interior Kwangsi as well as the upper reaches of the North and East Rivers.

#### OTHER RIVERS

*The Northeastern Group.*—The four northeastern provinces have four major rivers. The most important is the Amur River which forms the boundary line between China and the U. S. S. R. along the province of Heilungkiang, Chinese name for the river. It springs from five mountain creeks in the Kentai Mountains in Mongolia, where it is locally known as the Kerulen River. It first follows a generally eastern direction and turns northward after entering the Kulun-Nor on the western Heilungkiang steppe, forming the boundary between the U.S.S.R. and China and turns eastward again after passing Yingmu. Across Lokuho the river takes in the Shilka River. It turns in a generally southern direction at Oupu and receives the 1,152-kilometer Zeya River across Heiho, after which it flows towards the south-east, turning east at Lupei before taking in the 1,728-kilometer Sungari River (with tributaries totalling 3,100 kilometers) at Tungkiang and the 1,325-kilometer Ussuri River (with tributaries totalling 1,850 kilometers) near Fuyuan. It then turns north into Soviet territory before emptying into the Sea of Okhotsk. Of its 4,672-kilometers, 3,744 are within or border on Chinese territory and drains an area of 903,000 square kilometers. The river is navigable for 2,500 kilometers.

The Liao River rises from the Peichashan in western Jehol and flows eastward into Liaoning Province. It turns south at Liaoyuan and then flows in a southwesterly direction from Tielin before emptying itself into the Gulf of Chihli at Yingkow. It is 1,440 kilometers long and drains 176,000 square kilometers in Jehol and Liaoning.

The 806-kilometer Yalu River and the 460-kilometer Tumen River constitute the natural boundary between China and Korea. Both rivers begin from the Changpaishan Range. The Yalu River flows in a southwesterly direction and empties into the Yellow Sea; the Tumen flows in an easterly direction into the Japan Sea. They drain a total area of 68,000 square kilometers in Liaoning and Kirin.

*The Coastal Group.*—A number of shorter independent rivers are found in the coastal provinces. Beginning from the north, the first major coastal river is the Luan. The projected Northern Great Port planned by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, Father of the Nation, would be at its mouth. It rises east of Kuyuan in Chahar, skirts the Dolon-Nor and flows in a southeasterly direction for 804 kilometers to the Gulf of Chihli at Luanhsien in Hopei. It drains 49,800 square kilometers in Jehol and Hopei.

The Pei River, on which the northern port of Tientsin stands, drains 182,600 square kilometers in Jehol, Chahar, Shansi, Honan, Shantung and Hopei. Of its five headwaters, the most important is the Hutu River which springs from the Taihangshan Range on the Shansi-Hopei border. The river is 806 kilometers long.

The Hwai River is 1,000 kilometers long and drains 200,000 square kilometers of Honan, Anhwei and Kiangsu territory. It originates from the Tungpaishan in southern Honan and flows eastward into the Hungtseh Lake, from which it follows a new canal, completed on the eve of the war, to the East China Sea.

The Chientang River begins in southern Anhwei and flows eastward to the East China Sea. It is 460 kilometers long and drains 54,800 square kilometers of Anhwei and Chekiang territory. The northern bank of Hangchow Bay, estuary of the river, is the projected site of the Eastern Great Port planned by Dr. Sun.

The Min River springs from the mountains in western Fukien and enters the East China Sea after passing

Foochow. It is 576 kilometers long and drains 73,000 square kilometers of Fukien territory.

*The Southwestern Group.*—Most southwestern rivers begin from China but empty into the Pacific or the Indian Oceans through foreign countries. The first is the Red River which begins west of Hsiangyun in Yunnan and enters Indo-China at Hokow. It then continues in a southeasterly direction until it flows into Tonkin Bay. The section within China is 1,152 kilometers long and drains 76,400 square kilometers of Yunnan territory.

The Salween River rises on the eastern Tibet mountains and is known locally as the "Chiama Ngu" (its three headwaters are named "Nagchu," "Shagchu" and "Suchu"). It rushes southward from Sikang and Yunnan amidst the Transverse Mountains and through Burma into the Gulf of Martaban. Its Chinese section is 2,016 kilometers long and drains 86,300 square kilometers of Sikang and Yunnan territory.

The Mekong River originates in the southwestern Chinghai Mountains and is known as the "Dzachu." It flows southward in rapid torrents through Sikang and Yunnan to Indo-China and empties into the South China Sea. The Chinese section of the river is 2,000 kilometers long and drains 116,200 square kilometers of Sikang and Yunnan territory.

The Sanpu (Brahmaputra) River starts at the glacier of the Kubi Grangri and flows in an easterly direction through Tibet and western Sikang, turning south before entering India. The Chinese section is 1,843 kilometers long and drains 295,500 square kilometers of Tibetan and Sikang territory.

*The Inland River Group.*—Inland rivers are found in Sinkiang, Mongolia, Chinghai, Ningsia, Tibet, Chahar, and Suiyuan, the larger ones being in Sinkiang, Ningsia, and Chinghai. The Tarim River leads the list with a length of 2,190 kilometers, draining 398,400 square kilometers in southern Sinkiang. Springing from the southern Sinkiang Mountains, it runs in a foaming torrent till it leaves the mountains a short distance southwest of Yarkand. After reaching the plain below, the current becomes less impetuous. It skirts the north of the Taklamakan Desert, reaches the Kara-Koshum Lake by following an easterly direction, then

empties into the Lop-Nor. The Tarim continually changes its position along with the lakes near its mouth. These variations are due to the low level of the region and to the drifting sands which are heaped up by the east wind.

The Edsingol River is the principal river north of the Chilianshan Range in western Kansu. Being an inland river, it resembles the Tarim River in constantly changing both the course and the volume of its flow. It races from the Chilianshan Mountains in a northerly direction through the Black Gobi to the Sogo-Nor and Gashun-Nor in western Ningsia. This river is known in Chinese history as the Weak River.

*The Grand Canal.*—The Grand Canal is the oldest and longest canal in existence, extending from Peiping to Hangchow, covering a distance of 2,074 kilometers, draining 159,400 square kilometers in Chekiang, Kiangsu, Shantung and Hopei. It crosses the Yellow and Yangtze Rivers. For many centuries it was the main artery of communication between the north and the south, being the transportation route for the Chinese government's tariff (in the form of rice) and other private commodities. The canal was built in sections and enlarged from time to time. It was commenced in 540 B.C. between the Hwai River and the Yangtze. In A.D. 610 it was extended southwards to Hangchow. During the Yuan Dynasty, by the use of the Wen River in Shantung, it was (by 1320) extended northwards to Peiping.

#### LAKES

The principal lakes in China are:

Tungting Lake in Hunan. Known as the largest natural reservoir of the Yangtze, it reaches 120 kilometers in length and 90 in width in summer, covering an area of 5,200 square kilometers. It is much smaller in winter.

Poyang Lake in Kiangsi. Approximately 140 kilometers long and 30 kilometers wide in summer, it covers an area of 4,700 square kilometers.

Tai Lake or Great Lake in southern Kiangsu. Its greatest dimensions are approximately 80 kilometers by 65 in summer months.

Hungtseh Lake in northern Kiangsu and Anhwei. It receives the Hwai River and connects with the Grand Canal.



Tien Lake in Yunnan, adjacent to Kunming, is approximately 60 kilometers long and 15 kilometers wide and is at an altitude of 1,890 meters.

Erhhai Lake in western Yunnan. It is smaller than Tien Lake and lies 1,560 meters above sea level.

Koko-Nor in northeastern Chinghai, the largest of the Chinese salt lakes, is fed by 72 rivers. It is 100 kilometers wide and 65 kilometers long, with an area of 4,500 square kilometers and a circumference of 350 kilometers. It is at an altitude of approximately 3,300 meters. The lake gives the province the name Chinghai, meaning the Blue Sea.

Lop-Nor in eastern Sinkiang, on the northern slope of the Altin Kagh Range, was formerly an immense expanse of water but has now shrunk considerably. Because of the drifting sand in that region, the lake moves gradually to the south. It was a salt inland sea in centuries past but has since changed into a fresh water lake, evidently having some underground outlet through the desert. Buried in the sand around it are a number of cities of historical significance.

Minor northeastern lakes include Hulung-Nor and Bor-Nor on the steppe of western Heilungkiang and Hsinkai Lake in eastern Kirin on the border of China and the U.S.S.R.

A number of high altitude inland salt lakes are also found in Mongolia, Sinkiang, Tibet, Chinghai, Ningsia, Suiyuan, Chahar and Jehol.

### CLIMATE

There are three major factors which control the climate of China—distribution of land and water, mountain barriers and altitude, and cyclonic storms. The proximity of the Pacific Ocean on the one hand and the Eurasian Continent on the other brought about the unique wind system of Eastern Asia. In winter, high pressure centers over Siberia create what is known as the Siberian anticyclone. In summer, the high-pressure system shifts to the mid-Pacific. This results in monsoonal winds from land to ocean in winter and from ocean to land in summer. Such phenomenon affects the Chinese climate in two ways. First, since wind comes from the arid

interior in winter and the damp, tropical ocean in summer, rainfall all over China has pronounced periodicity, with a maximum in summer and a minimum in winter. Second, since winter winds blow from the cold north and summer winds from the warm south, the seasonal temperature contrast is very pronounced.

Mountain ranges have a twofold effect on climate: they act as barriers to the rain-bearing winds from the south in summer and to the piercing ice-cold winds from the north in winter, and with the increase of altitude the temperature decreases at the approximate rate of 6° C. per 1,000 meters while precipitation increases until a certain level is reached.

In temperate zones the extra-tropical cyclonic storms are oftentimes the sole arbiter of weather changes, and this is true to a certain extent in China. During the period of 1921-1930, there were 841 cyclones in China, averaging 84.1 a year. The average seasonal distribution of the cyclones in the ten years showed 7.3 cyclones in January, 8.1 in February, 9.3 in March, 10.5 in April, 9.9 in May, 7.8 in June, 5.1 in July, 2.5 in August, 3.4 in September, 6.2 in October, 7.4 in November and 6.6 in December. Since summer cyclones carry more moisture, few of them yield an abundance of rainfall. The cyclones travel over China generally from west to east, but turn toward the northeast on reaching the coast. In winter and spring cyclones are most numerous in the Yangtze Valley whereas in July and August the number of storms in North China far exceeds that in Central or South China.

Typhoons also play a prominent part in the climate control of China, especially from July to October. As a rule there are 20 to 30 typhoons in a year and among these only four or five will strike the Chinese coast.

China has a continental climate—extreme heat in summer and extreme cold in winter. The difference in temperature between north and south is much reduced in summer but is greatly accentuated in winter. The difference in temperature between Manchouli in western Heilungkiang and Hongkong in January is 42° C. calculated at 2° C. for every 100 miles in the 2,100-mile crow distance. In July, the difference is less than 10° C.

Taking the period with mean temperatures below 10° C. as winter and above 22° C. as summer, the distribution of four

seasons in China can be seen from the following table:

*Distribution of Four Seasons in China*  
(in unit of months)

Regions.	Winter	Spring	Autumn	Summer
South China ...	0-0	4.0-7.0	of Spring and Autumn	5.0-8.0
Yunnan Plateau ...	2.0-3.0	9.0-10.0	" "	0-0
Upper Yangtze Valley ...	2.5-3.0	2.5-3.0	" "	2.5-3.0
Central Yangtze ...	3.5	2.0-2.5	2.0-2.5	4.0-4.5
Lower Yangtze ...	3.5-4.5	2.0-2.5	2.0	3.5-4.0
North China ...	5.0-6.0	2.0-3.0	2.0	2.0-3.0
Northwest China ...	5.5-6.5	2.0-3.0	1.5-2.5	1.0-3.0
Sinkiang ...	5.0-6.0	2.0-3.0	2.0	2.0
Liaoning-Kirin ...	6.0-7.0	2.0-2.5	2.0	1.0-2.5
Heilungkiang ...	8.0	4.0	of Spring and Autumn	0-0

Sea-level atmosphere pressure in China is highest in December or January and lowest in June or July. The mean annual range amounts to 12-18 mm. in South China and the Yangtze Estuary but increases to 19-21 mm. in the Central Yangtze Valley and North China.

Winds in China are predominantly offshore in winter and onshore in summer, forming winter and summer monsoons. The months of March, April, and May in spring, and September in autumn are transitional months. Cyclones passing over Mongolia, the Northeastern Provinces, North China, or the Yangtze Valley may bring about winds from every point of the compass. The shifting of wind directions is limited to the lower strata of the atmosphere. Pilot balloon soundings in Peiping and Nanking have shown that above 3,000 meters westerly winds predominate.

Wind velocity is greatest during the months of March and April. The summer months are usually the calmest, except the lower Yangtze Valley, where wind velocity in July is as great as that of March or April. Generally speaking, wind velocity in China decreases from the coast inland, with places along the Fukien coast lying in the stormiest zone due to the tube effect of the winds in that territory.

As a result of monsoon winds, summer in China is usually damp, and autumn and winter dry. The mean annual relative humidity of the Northeastern Provinces and North China varies between 60-65 per cent, and that of Central and South China between 70-80 per cent. Szechwan has a high humidity whereas Yunnan has a low humidity. In Sinkiang and Tibet, humidity is very low.

Regional variation of cloudiness in China follows closely the variation of humidity. The mean annual cloudiness decreases from seven in South China to four in North China. Sinkiang and the Northeastern Provinces have a mean cloudiness of 3.6. Mount Omei in Szechwan has 8.1. In seasonal distribution, cloudiness varies greatly in different regions. In the Northeastern Provinces, North China, and West China, winter is the season of blue sky, whereas summer brings more clouds. In South China and the Yangtze Valley, winter is the most gloomy period.

Both radiation fogs and advection fogs are found in China, the latter occurring near the coast and the former on the mainland. Fogs are mostly met in winter on the mainland and spring fogs are most dominant in the Yangtze Estuary. In Mongolia and Sinkiang fog is rare but the sky is covered with haze most of the time.

Frost occurs practically everywhere on the Chinese mainland. The regular yearly visitation of frost does not begin until about latitude 28° N. along the coast. Inland the occurrence of frost depends greatly upon the altitude and topography.

If the growing season is assumed to be limited to the period between the mean date of the last frost in spring and the mean date of the first frost in autumn, then the season varies in length from twelve months in South China, eight to nine months in the Yangtze Valley, seven in the Yellow River Basin, six in Hopei and Shansi, five in the Northeastern Provinces, to four in Tibet and Chinghai



As the seasonal fluctuation of pressure systems in Eastern Asia and the Western Pacific determines the monsoonal wind system of China, so does the wind system determine the Chinese rainfall regimes. Onshore winds, pregnant with moisture, bring the wet season, whereas offshore winds usher in the dry period. The main characteristic of rainfall regimes over all of China consists of a maximum in summer and a minimum in winter. There are many irregularities due to cyclones, typhoons, and thunderstorms. Precipitation in China is either orographic or cyclonic, which latter may be due to continental depressions, typhoons, or heat thunderstorms. During the last 60 years of observation in Shanghai, the wettest summers were always the ones with the least southeasterly winds. Southerly monsoons are the moisture-bearing winds in China but the moisture is only released by some mechanism—dynamical, thermal, or orographical—when the monsoons are lifted up by a polar front, intense solar radiation, or a mountain slope.

Maximum rainfall comes mostly in May in northern Kwangtung, in June in the Yangtze Valley and in July in North China.

Precipitation due to continental depressions makes up more than 80 per cent of the total in spring and more than 50 per cent in summer. Typhoon rains decrease in importance from south to north and from coast to inland. The proportion of thunderstorm rains is smaller than that of typhoon rains in summer but greater in spring. In eastern China, orographical rain plays only a secondary role. In western China orographical rain assumes a place of paramount importance. Very often the same air mass which brings heat and drought to Eastern China turns into drenching rain after climbing 2,000 or 3,000 meters upward.

Rainfall is plentiful south of the Yangtze Valley (exceeding 1,000 mm.) and decreases rapidly towards the north and northwest. Besides, North China has an extreme variability in rainfall (more than 30 per cent) from year to year.

Snowfall is not heavy in China as the winter months are dry. It falls rarely in the South but may occur from December to March in the Yangtze Valley, November to April in North China and October to April in the Northeastern Provinces.

MEAN MONTHLY AND MEAN ANNUAL TEMPERATURE IN CENTIGRADE

Place	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Year	Period
Kiangsu	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Nanking	2.2	3.7	8.6	14.4	20.3	24.4	27.7	27.5	22.8	17.2	10.6	4.6	15.3	1905-36
Tungshan	-0.9	1.6	7.7	13.7	20.2	25.7	28.2	26.8	22.0	15.7	8.2	2.0	14.2	1926-36
Nantung	1.6	3.0	7.4	13.0	18.7	22.8	26.9	26.9	22.4	17.3	11.2	5.0	14.7	1917-36
Shanghai	3.2	4.1	8.0	13.5	18.7	23.1	27.1	27.0	22.8	17.4	11.3	5.7	15.2	1873-36
Sochow	2.3	4.3	8.9	14.0	19.9	24.5	29.4	28.5	23.3	17.8	11.9	6.3	15.9	1930-36
Woosung	3.9	4.3	8.4	13.6	19.1	23.3	27.7	27.7	23.4	18.0	12.4	7.1	15.7	1924-36
Wushih	1.9	3.6	8.1	13.5	19.6	24.3	28.9	28.1	22.8	17.1	11.4	5.7	15.4	1931-36
Steepe Island	5.9	5.7	8.7	12.9	17.6	22.0	26.1	27.4	24.5	20.3	15.2	9.7	16.3	1924-36
Shaweishan	4.1	4.2	7.4	12.1	17.4	21.9	26.5	27.4	23.7	19.2	13.6	7.7	15.4	1924-36
Tungtai	0.8	2.4	6.7	12.9	18.9	22.7	27.4	27.1	22.3	16.1	9.8	3.8	14.2	1924-36
Chinkiang	2.2	3.8	8.8	14.8	20.8	24.9	28.4	28.2	23.6	17.6	11.5	5.1	15.8	1924-36
Changshu	1.7	3.8	8.2	13.2	19.1	23.6	27.7	27.6	22.9	17.8	11.9	6.0	15.3	1930-36
Gutzlaff	4.4	4.6	7.8	12.4	17.2	21.6	25.8	27.0	23.8	19.4	14.0	8.1	15.5	1924-36
North Saddle	5.4	5.3	8.3	12.6	17.2	21.6	25.8	26.9	23.6	19.3	14.4	9.1	15.8	1924-36
Chekiang	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Yungkia	7.4	8.2	11.6	16.6	21.3	25.1	29.0	29.1	25.6	20.7	15.9	11.0	18.5	1924-36
Peiyushan	6.1	6.2	9.0	13.2	18.3	22.4	26.6	27.2	24.3	19.9	15.3	10.1	16.6	1932-36
Hangchow	4.0	5.3	9.7	15.3	20.5	24.7	28.3	28.0	23.8	17.7	12.1	7.0	16.4	1919-36
Anhui	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Hwaijing	3.5	4.9	10.1	15.5	22.3	26.2	30.5	30.0	24.6	18.9	12.4	5.3	17.0	1932-36
Wuhu	2.3	4.3	9.3	15.1	21.2	25.0	28.4	28.6	23.8	17.8	11.5	5.2	16.0	1924-36
Kiangsi	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Kiukiang	3.3	5.5	10.5	16.3	22.3	26.0	29.7	29.6	24.7	18.5	12.4	6.4	17.1	1924-36
Hupeh	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Hankow	3.9	5.4	10.5	16.4	22.1	25.9	28.8	28.8	24.1	18.5	12.2	6.0	16.9	1906-36
Ichang	4.5	6.6	12.0	17.5	22.7	26.2	28.9	28.8	24.4	18.9	13.3	7.0	17.6	1924-36
Hunan	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Changsha	4.4	6.1	11.3	17.2	23.0	26.3	30.1	30.0	25.4	19.3	13.6	7.1	17.8	1924-36
Hengyang	3.6	6.9	11.3	16.6	23.1	26.2	29.6	29.3	25.6	19.0	13.3	7.5	17.7	1932-36
Changteh	2.8	6.2	10.1	15.4	22.0	25.8	29.5	28.9	24.4	17.7	11.9	6.3	16.8	1924-36
Yoyang	3.3	5.4	10.6	16.3	21.8	25.4	28.7	28.4	23.8	17.9	12.2	6.0	16.7	1924-36
Szechwan	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Chungking	7.8	9.7	14.2	18.9	22.7	25.1	28.8	29.2	24.1	18.9	14.3	10.2	18.7	1924-36
Chengtu	4.2	8.8	12.1	17.0	21.6	24.8	26.7	26.2	22.4	17.2	12.0	7.6	16.7	1932-36



MEAN MONTHLY AND MEAN ANNUAL TEMPERATURE IN CENTIGRADE—Continued.

Place	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Year	Period
Yunnan	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Kunming	9.2	10.9	14.2	17.5	19.3	19.4	20.0	19.9	28.1	15.8	12.7	9.9	15.6	1929-36
Tengchung	8.6	9.7	13.3	16.0	18.2	19.8	20.4	20.3	29.7	17.1	12.7	9.5	15.4	1924-36
Kwangsi	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Tsangwu	12.3	13.3	16.4	21.1	26.0	27.4	28.6	28.6	27.4	23.1	19.2	15.4	21.6	1924-36
Lungchow	14.3	15.3	18.7	23.2	27.8	28.7	29.0	28.9	27.8	23.8	20.6	17.1	22.9	1924-36
Kwangtung	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Canton	13.1	13.9	17.1	21.6	26.2	27.7	28.6	28.8	27.6	23.8	20.0	16.1	22.0	1924-36
Lamocks	13.3	12.5	14.5	18.7	23.4	25.7	26.8	26.9	26.5	23.3	19.9	16.2	20.6	1924-36
Samshui	12.1	13.1	16.4	21.2	25.9	27.6	28.7	28.9	27.4	23.0	19.0	15.1	21.5	1924-36
Breaker Point	14.0	13.5	15.5	19.3	24.1	26.1	26.9	26.9	26.7	23.7	20.2	16.6	21.1	1924-36
Chilang Point	14.4	14.0	16.0	20.0	24.7	26.8	27.7	27.6	27.2	24.3	20.7	17.1	21.7	1924-36
Swatow	13.6	13.6	15.7	19.8	24.6	27.0	28.2	28.4	27.1	23.3	19.5	16.2	21.4	1924-36
Lamko	17.6	17.8	19.5	23.6	27.6	28.9	28.8	28.5	27.4	25.2	22.7	19.8	23.9	1924-36
Kiungshan	17.8	18.6	21.0	25.1	28.4	28.4	28.9	28.6	27.7	25.1	22.8	19.8	24.4	1924-36
Pakhoi	14.0	15.1	18.2	23.1	27.8	28.7	29.0	28.8	28.0	24.5	21.3	17.3	23.0	1924-36
Fukien	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Amoy	13.8	13.2	15.4	19.1	24.1	26.9	29.0	29.1	28.0	24.6	20.5	16.8	21.7	1924-36
Tungyung	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Pagoda Anchorage	10.6	10.3	13.1	17.7	22.6	25.8	28.6	28.7	26.1	22.0	17.9	13.8	19.8	1924-36
Chapel Island	12.0	10.3	13.2	17.1	22.2	25.5	27.3	27.5	26.6	22.8	19.1	15.2	20.0	1924-36
Ockseu	11.1	10.3	12.3	16.3	21.2	24.8	27.1	27.4	26.2	22.5	18.7	14.6	19.4	1924-36
Turnabout	10.4	9.6	11.5	15.7	20.6	24.5	27.1	27.2	25.7	21.9	18.1	13.9	18.9	1924-36
Middle Dog	9.7	9.0	11.2	15.5	20.3	24.0	26.6	26.9	25.5	21.5	17.6	13.4	18.4	1924-36
Hopei	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Peiping	-4.6	-1.5	5.0	13.6	20.1	24.4	26.1	24.9	20.1	12.7	3.9	-2.6	11.8	1841-36
Great Northern Port	-4.2	-2.6	3.2	10.8	17.3	22.4	26.6	25.7	22.1	14.4	6.1	-0.2	11.8	1931-35
Tangku	-4.4	-2.0	4.0	12.2	19.0	23.8	26.6	25.9	21.5	14.2	5.2	-2.1	12.0	1924-36
Tsingyuan	-5.7	-1.4	5.6	13.9	20.4	25.8	26.9	25.2	20.2	13.2	4.2	-2.9	12.1	1913-36
Chinwangtao	-6.3	-4.2	1.4	9.3	16.0	20.7	24.4	24.4	19.9	12.7	4.0	-3.5	9.9	1924-35
Shantung	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Tsinan	-1.7	1.5	8.3	15.8	22.6	27.0	28.2	26.4	22.2	16.2	7.6	1.0	14.6	1919-36
Chefoo	-2.0	-0.9	4.0	11.4	17.8	22.4	25.5	25.5	21.6	15.4	8.1	1.2	12.5	1924-36
Howki	-2.4	-1.8	2.2	8.6	14.7	19.3	22.7	23.8	21.3	15.4	7.9	0.8	11.0	1924-36
Tsingtao	-1.4	-0.0	4.2	10.0	15.5	19.8	23.6	25.1	21.3	15.8	8.4	1.3	12.0	1900-36
SE Promontory	-1.3	-0.8	2.9	8.2	13.6	18.2	21.9	24.3	21.3	15.7	9.0	2.0	11.3	1924-36
Shantung	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
NE Promontory	-1.4	-0.8	2.7	7.9	13.3	18.0	21.0	24.1	21.4	15.7	9.0	1.9	11.1	1924-36
Taishan	-11.1	-7.3	3.1	4.5	11.6	15.4	18.2	17.0	13.0	7.1	-0.7	-6.4	4.9	1932-36
Shansi	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Yangku	-7.7	-3.0	4.1	11.8	18.8	22.9	25.2	23.1	17.7	10.4	2.4	-4.8	10.1	1916-36
Honan	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Kaifeng	-1.4	2.1	7.9	14.5	21.1	26.0	28.0	25.9	21.6	15.7	8.6	2.3	14.4	1932-36
Shensi	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Sian	-0.8	2.3	8.6	14.6	20.6	26.5	28.1	26.0	20.8	14.5	7.3	1.2	14.1	1922-36
Kansu	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Lanchow	-7.5	-1.1	5.4	12.1	17.1	20.9	22.5	20.6	16.4	8.8	1.1	-4.0	9.4	1933-36
Chinghai	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Sining	4.2	5.0	8.9	14.2	19.4	23.6	28.1	28.1	23.9	18.6	13.3	7.7	16.3	1924-36
Sinkang	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Tihwa	-19.3	-11.0	1.3	7.6	16.9	22.5	23.9	20.8	14.3	6.9	-2.0	-13.3	5.5	1930
Kuche	-14.0	-4.5	6.6	13.2	18.6	22.0	23.9	22.2	17.1	9.0	9.4	-8.3	8.8	1930-31
Yenchi	-14.0	-12.1	-3.6	6.2	13.0	18.4	22.7	22.2	14.9	7.0	-3.1	-11.7	5.1	1914-28
Liaoning	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mukden	-13.0	-9.2	1.0	8.6	15.8	21.7	24.7	23.6	16.7	9.0	-1.2	-10.2	7.1	1906-29
Antung	-9.6	-6.9	2.2	9.0	15.3	20.6	23.9	24.9	18.8	11.3	1.8	-5.6	8.9	1928-31
Dairen	-5.0	-3.5	1.9	9.3	15.2	20.3	23.5	24.6	19.8	13.6	5.2	-2.2	10.2	1905-29
Kungchuling	-15.6	-11.0	-1.4	9.4	17.1	22.6	25.3	24.2	18.4	10.1	-1.7	-11.3	7.2	1915-36
Newchwang	-8.8	-7.3	1.5	9.5	16.4	22.3	25.2	24.7	19.4	11.0	1.7	-6.5	9.1	1928-31
Kirin	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Changchun	-17.2	-12.7	-4.3	6.5	14.3	20.0	23.4	21.8	14.7	6.4	-4.4	-14.2	4.5	1909-29
Mutankiang	-20.5	-16.0	-6.6	5.2	12.6	18.1	22.0	20.8	13.2	4.7	-7.0	-17.4	2.4	1909-28
Harbin	-20.4	-15.7	-6.5	5.7	13.8	19.7	23.2	21.6	14.2	5.3	-7.2	-17.4	3.0	1909-28
Sansing	-21.1	-15.6	-7.2	4.5	12.5	19.0	22.9	21.1	14.0	4.8	-7.7	-17.1	2.5	1916-28
Imierpo	-19.0	-14.4	-5.8	5.7	13.1	18.7	22.3	20.9	13.5	5.5	-6.2	-16.1	3.2	1909-28
Heilungkiang	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Tsitsihar	-20.8	-15.4	-6.8	5.0	13.4	19.9	23.2	21.5	13.8	4.4	-8.6	-18.0	2.6	1909-28
Hailar	-28.3	-24.3	-15.2	0.6	10.4	17.1	21.0	18.1	9.8	0.0	-14.2	-25.6	-2.6	1909-28
Manchouli	-26.0	-22.3	-13.7	0.6	10.4	17.5	21.0	18.0	9.8	-0.1	-13.9	-23.6	-1.9	1909-28
Bokedu	-22.6	-18.9	-11.0	0.5	9.3	15.3	19.1	16.3	9.0	0.6	-11.6	-20.1	-1.2	1914-28
Mandoho	-27.7	-24.0	-15.4	-0.3	9.2	15.5	19.4	16.6	8.5	-0.7	-14.2	-24.7	-3.2	1909-28
Chelandan	-18.9	-14.3	-6.8	-4.3	12.7	18.3	21.8	19.5	12.0	3.4	-8.7	-17.0	2.2	1909-28
Anda	-22.0	-16.7	-6.8	5.0	13.4	20.1	23.7	21.3	13.8	4.5	-8.6	-18.2	2.5	1914-28
Aigun	-25.0	-22.2	-7.7	2.6	11.7	17.9	22.5	20.4	12.2	3.2	-10.6	-22.5	0.2	1928-31

## MEAN MONTHLY AND MEAN ANNUAL PRECIPITATION IN MM.

Place	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Year	Period
Kiangsu														
Nanking	37.9	46.3	61.9	96.9	78.6	156.4	182.6	111.3	83.1	45.2	41.1	36.3	977.6	1905-36
Shanghai	49.0	59.0	83.3	92.8	92.8	146.8	143.2	127.8	127.8	70.7	50.8	36.6	1129.9	1873-36
Wush	37.0	45.9	55.8	98.7	101.7	131.6	72.9	99.2	120.2	45.8	46.2	50.7	905.4	1932-36
Changshu	35.4	52.2	45.0	94.5	84.9	145.7	165.9	110.1	120.2	43.3	49.7	46.6	993.5	1930-36
Chinkiang	40.2	44.0	68.7	90.1	87.4	165.4	126.6	121.9	95.3	45.6	45.2	31.6	1018.0	1886-36
Woosung	38.4	48.6	68.0	83.7	78.9	166.5	142.1	123.3	127.5	48.6	52.3	37.8	1015.7	1904-36
Shaveishan	39.7	49.4	27.7	76.5	80.8	138.9	101.8	102.2	113.7	58.7	47.9	33.9	916.2	1886-36
Soochow	47.4	54.4	55.9	69.6	94.7	144.0	124.4	121.9	89.6	30.2	40.2	42.3	914.6	1921-36
Tungtai	32.2	31.1	44.8	56.3	68.0	123.3	157.6	180.0	93.0	44.4	29.6	49.7	910.0	1924-36
Nantung	28.2	37.4	50.3	66.7	64.1	150.0	174.3	130.3	123.9	25.3	39.8	38.8	930.1	1917-36
Steep Island	44.7	54.5	84.2	92.1	98.1	145.3	66.2	54.3	83.1	59.8	46.0	32.5	860.8	1886-36
Gutzlaff	46.2	57.3	84.8	90.8	82.1	140.3	87.7	66.4	109.5	58.8	50.7	39.4	914.0	1886-36
North Saddle	35.2	45.2	70.7	83.1	87.9	135.0	73.1	63.8	85.9	55.8	49.0	37.9	822.6	1886-36
Tungshan	12.3	17.9	20.8	60.0	47.1	112.7	127.6	135.0	81.7	25.8	19.3	32.3	693.4	1929-36
Chekiang														
Hangchow	72.0	91.6	117.3	133.3	137.1	226.8	134.9	194.0	162.2	80.8	71.6	58.9	1480.5	1904-36
Yungkia	49.1	89.2	129.3	146.5	187.4	262.2	203.9	254.1	210.4	89.7	55.9	43.9	1721.6	1883-36
Peiyushan	49.7	82.7	108.3	113.9	125.2	156.1	71.8	103.7	169.4	59.5	55.4	55.2	1150.9	1904-36
Anhui														
Hwauning	26.6	73.6	146.9	179.1	126.8	184.9	100.4	79.5	73.4	57.0	61.4	69.2	1178.8	1934-36
Wuhu	50.6	56.0	95.8	125.2	124.8	200.5	154.2	121.6	81.8	70.0	57.4	37.5	1175.4	1880-36
Kiangsi														
Kiukiang	60.5	82.2	139.5	176.3	171.7	220.1	142.0	121.2	88.6	86.3	64.0	45.6	1398.8	1885-36
Hupeh														
Hankow	45.0	49.7	92.6	149.9	171.4	231.0	181.3	106.3	76.0	74.6	48.6	30.9	1257.3	1880-36
Ichang	21.6	30.5	52.0	101.2	125.6	157.0	224.4	179.4	104.0	73.7	34.5	17.4	1121.3	1882-36
Hunan														
Changsha	46.9	97.2	136.2	154.7	208.5	229.7	116.4	112.7	73.6	74.7	72.8	47.8	1371.2	1909-36
Hengyang	60.8	130.7	95.9	193.8	214.8	262.2	67.2	108.1	79.1	67.3	108.6	67.4	1455.9	1933-36
Changteh	33.2	105.2	76.9	218.2	169.2	339.3	163.5	100.7	39.5	111.5	97.7	47.9	1502.8	1933-36
Yoyang	37.0	75.0	126.5	161.1	192.3	194.6	119.1	107.0	82.6	83.8	98.5	43.9	1421.4	1909-36
Szechwan														
Chungking	18.0	19.9	37.7	98.2	143.9	183.9	137.9	124.3	145.2	110.1	49.2	20.9	1089.2	1891-36
Chengtu	14.8	18.7	35.8	58.3	99.6	161.5	273.4	438.0	167.0	54.2	19.5	11.9	1352.7	1934-36

Yunnan	5.0	20.5	23.1	23.1	111.0	207.5	261.4	246.9	158.3	75.6	41.2	7.2	1190.8	1929-36
Kunming	12.0	36.9	37.7	64.3	126.9	240.4	318.7	277.6	151.9	162.3	41.8	15.3	1485.8	1911-36
Tengchung														
Kwangsi														
Tsangwu	31.8	55.4	91.5	155.0	205.4	196.9	157.9	173.9	84.6	43.7	38.8	40.3	1301.5	1898-36
Lungchow	20.5	36.7	46.5	79.0	179.1	220.7	233.5	239.4	140.6	63.2	32.6	24.6	1316.4	1896-36
Kwangtung														
Canton	44.1	69.9	91.6	150.2	256.1	272.5	256.3	243.9	135.3	59.4	40.8	35.8	1655.9	1907-36
Samshui	41.4	61.8	111.4	175.9	292.8	259.9	237.9	245.1	151.0	73.5	44.3	42.2	1737.2	1900-36
Breaker Point	25.9	44.7	64.6	116.1	191.2	260.6	228.7	251.3	157.8	78.7	34.5	29.7	1483.8	1892-36
Lamocks	26.9	37.0	58.1	100.9	115.5	166.3	182.2	151.5	118.8	70.5	25.1	22.3	1075.1	1892-36
Chilang Point	28.1	52.4	76.6	112.0	145.8	224.2	277.6	230.8	157.4	50.3	33.9	30.6	1419.7	1911-36
Lamko	13.6	19.6	27.8	47.3	83.4	123.2	216.9	231.3	230.1	131.8	50.8	25.5	1201.3	1912-36
Swatow	34.3	57.9	83.7	147.4	214.1	258.0	215.7	220.1	132.4	62.2	41.5	35.7	1503.0	1880-36
Pakhoi	44.3	38.9	71.7	103.0	174.5	286.5	500.9	465.9	260.1	93.3	49.2	46.0	2134.3	1885-36
Kiungshan	24.4	32.8	49.8	97.9	154.3	197.7	211.3	182.2	256.1	177.0	81.6	45.7	1510.8	1912-36
Fukien														
Amoy	33.5	70.5	93.2	130.8	174.3	173.8	126.7	161.7	110.0	36.8	32.1	34.2	1177.6	1880-36
Pagoda Anchorage	45.4	92.4	118.6	129.7	150.7	197.1	168.5	200.9	204.8	46.6	41.2	47.6	1443.5	1880-36
Chapel Island	32.9	60.9	90.6	125.0	132.8	135.4	125.9	111.0	90.9	39.1	29.7	27.9	1002.1	1880-36
Tungyung	20.9	57.3	74.4	77.2	107.9	116.5	54.0	80.8	77.1	33.8	22.9	19.3	742.0	1905-36
Middle Dog	42.6	91.1	128.0	135.4	145.2	182.6	120.7	109.3	131.0	46.2	35.1	40.4	1208.5	1885-36
Ockseu	30.8	57.9	88.6	105.4	131.5	158.2	100.9	96.4	75.3	27.2	20.5	23.9	916.6	1886-36
Turnabout	39.8	80.8	104.2	126.6	156.1	180.8	95.8	97.1	86.8	43.0	37.7	43.2	1091.9	1885-36
Hopei														
Peiping	3.9	4.5	8.7	15.6	33.0	82.9	249.5	146.1	58.0	17.1	8.8	2.3	630.4	1841-36
Tangku	4.1	3.3	7.5	11.2	27.0	61.2	182.9	132.8	39.6	12.9	12.9	3.1	498.5	1909-36
Chinwangtao	2.8	2.9	13.4	16.7	62.3	71.2	182.1	192.7	75.6	18.8	13.4	4.3	636.2	1908-36
Great Northern Port	13.1	6.2	7.9	10.8	71.8	77.4	186.4	166.0	38.1	10.3	10.2	5.8	604.0	1931-35
Tsingyuan	4.0	3.2	5.6	9.5	20.9	67.5	148.0	133.8	31.7	8.0	10.9	5.6	448.7	1913-36
Shantung														
Tsinan	8.4	7.5	10.3	20.1	33.6	74.5	203.6	175.3	57.6	19.1	16.4	12.9	639.3	1916-36
Taishan	7.7	5.1	15.2	22.3	43.7	137.5	350.7	172.0	86.7	27.0	30.8	23.5	922.2	1933-36
Howki	4.3	6.8	8.4	20.4	33.2	54.7	138.2	103.4	52.3	21.2	16.9	5.5	465.3	1880-36
Chefoo	14.2	9.8	15.9	25.2	45.2	57.9	167.8	155.3	62.8	28.1	27.4	20.4	630.0	1886-36
Tsingtao	11.2	7.9	19.1	30.9	43.1	82.5	143.4	147.1	84.4	36.7	22.2	17.6	646.1	1898-36
NE Promontory	8.9	5.8	14.7	29.5	35.2	65.2	133.0	127.8	67.7	30.3	25.0	14.6	557.7	1886-36
SE Promontory	8.3	9.2	18.9	38.3	46.0	76.4	166.4	149.4	85.1	29.6	30.2	18.2	676.0	1886-36



MEAN MONTHLY AND MEAN ANNUAL PRECIPITATION IN MM—Continued.

Place	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Year	Period
Shansi	5.1	4.8	13.1	15.3	26.7	44.7	98.6	96.3	49.4	16.0	7.8	4.8	382.6	1916-36
Yangku	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Shensi	3.8	6.7	17.4	41.3	52.5	55.9	83.7	103.8	82.8	52.1	14.5	7.0	521.5	1922-36
Sian	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Kansu	0.9	4.8	4.9	10.9	26.3	20.6	76.0	133.4	62.3	16.1	0.5	4.9	361.6	1933-36
Lanchow	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Chinghai	70.0	85.0	105.2	114.1	112.8	182.3	117.5	164.2	190.6	97.3	63.7	53.0	1355.7	1886-36
Sinng	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Sinkiang	4.0	36.9	0.0	40.4	75.7	9.8	23.3	64.8	16.6	46.8	8.5	18.3	345.0	1930
Tihwa	5.0	5.0	14.0	15.0	49.0	74.0	96.0	111.0	93.0	39.0	14.0	6.0	522.0	1914-28
Yenchu	1.6	1.8	4.3	3.3	1.3	34.1	18.4	8.5	5.3	0.0	0.3	6.4	85.3	1930-31
Kuche	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Honan	11.7	8.0	20.3	24.2	58.4	44.4	216.5	63.5	71.4	12.5	32.4	17.6	580.9	1934-36
Kaifeng	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Liaoning	5.3	7.3	18.7	26.6	58.8	87.8	162.4	151.4	77.7	38.7	23.9	9.1	667.7	1906-29
Mukden	12.9	8.2	18.3	24.2	44.1	45.4	162.3	130.3	102.3	27.9	24.4	12.0	612.3	1905-29
Dairen	14.2	9.3	27.0	36.2	83.6	55.9	266.4	261.4	128.5	58.7	44.2	22.1	1007.5	1928-31
Antung	5.1	4.8	11.5	19.0	53.4	99.5	173.3	139.7	59.8	38.4	13.9	14.4	622.8	1915-36
Kungchuling	6.2	5.3	14.1	18.9	32.8	45.5	168.1	144.8	47.1	37.2	14.8	11.9	546.7	1928-31
Newchwang	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Kirin	7.1	6.5	16.5	19.5	52.0	104.6	182.9	133.8	62.0	38.4	16.3	7.3	646.7	1909-29
Changchun	4.0	6.0	10.0	22.0	42.0	109.0	148.0	107.0	55.0	30.0	11.0	5.0	544.0	1909-28
Harbin	3.0	4.0	10.0	25.0	52.0	87.0	116.0	108.0	69.0	33.0	16.0	5.0	528.0	1909-28
Mutankiang	3.0	6.0	7.0	19.0	53.0	79.0	125.0	125.0	71.0	36.0	7.0	7.0	537.0	1916-28
Sansing	8.0	9.0	16.0	27.0	55.0	117.0	184.0	133.0	72.0	47.0	27.0	11.0	706.0	1909-28
Imienpo	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Heilungkiang	2.0	2.0	5.0	10.0	29.0	68.0	101.0	77.0	40.0	11.0	6.0	2.0	354.0	1909-28
Tsitsihar	3.4	4.5	5.8	6.5	25.9	124.2	143.1	142.8	101.5	23.7	15.5	3.5	600.4	1928-31
Aigun	4.0	4.0	4.0	10.0	20.0	46.0	79.0	66.0	45.0	10.0	6.0	4.0	298.0	1909-28
Hailar	2.0	2.0	3.0	5.0	16.0	45.0	71.0	61.0	34.0	7.0	5.0	3.0	234.0	1909-28
Manchouli	3.0	3.0	5.0	17.0	34.0	73.0	116.0	106.0	70.0	17.0	8.0	2.0	454.0	1909-28
Chelandan	4.0	5.0	4.0	10.0	25.0	64.0	73.0	81.0	63.0	12.0	6.0	5.0	350.0	1909-28
Mandohu	2.0	2.0	2.0	10.0	28.0	85.0	107.0	89.0	56.0	9.0	5.0	2.0	397.0	1914-28
Bokedu	1.0	2.0	4.0	10.0	35.0	61.0	117.0	120.0	56.0	12.0	5.0	2.0	425.0	1914-28
Anda	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

## HISTORY

The Chinese are the bearers of the most important living culture that can be traced back in an unbroken line to the Stone Age. It is true that the continuity is lacking in many details, but what is known is enough to establish a few general principles. The most ancient home of Chinese culture was the middle Yellow River valley. It was only gradually that the Yangtze and other regions came within the horizon of ancient China.

Physically, the neolithic people of North China were of the same stock as the northern Chinese of to-day and they overlapped into the northeast and the northwest. They also found a kindred physical type in South China. Besides, studies on the "Peking Man" reveal that the neolithic men in North China were descended from a paleolithic stock native to the same region.

Culturally, these proto-Chinese lived mainly on hunting, fishing and a primitive agriculture. The gradual accumulation of social experience brought about significant social changes. The finding of the "painted pottery" and "black pottery" as well as bronze cultures near Anyang in northern Honan proves the possibility and probability of continued Chinese culture from the Stone Age to the Bronze Age, although data is still lacking as to the step-by-step evolution of the proto-Chinese.

The transition from Stone to Bronze Age happened around 2000 B.C. A proto-feudalism came into existence with the appearance of tribes, nobility, ecclesiastics and farming commoners. From the perhaps thousands of tribes, two came to the fore by 1700 B.C., known as the Hsia and Shang. The Hsia, in modern Shansi, was at first the stronger and thus Hsia or Hua Hsia became the collective name for the Chinese race. After one century, Shang became stronger and its chief, Cheng Tang, defeated Hsia and was acknowledged overlord. He established the first loosely organized semi-feudal empire with Honan as his base.

In 1300 B.C., Pan Keng, king of Shang, established his capital at Yin, the modern Anyang in Honan. His empire was more feudal in character and he was known as the Son of Heaven besides being the overlord of the tribes.

About 1100 B.C., a new power, Chou, rose in the west. It overwhelmed the Shang and took over Chinese overlordship in 1027 B.C. The empire was distributed as fiefs among the Chou ruler's brothers, nephews, sons, cousins, as well as a few loyal ministers. It was the first and only full-fledged feudal empire in Chinese history.

Around 900 B.C., the feudal empire of Chou began to show symptoms of decay. The princes had become stronger and by constant warfare, a number of weaker ones were eliminated and the remaining stronger states began to defy the authority of the Son of Heaven. The western barbarians, with the covert instigation if not actual assistance of the princes, defeated the Chou overlord and overran the royal domain in modern Shensi near Sian. Ping Wang (770-720 B.C.) moved his capital to the eastern capital, Loyi, the modern Loyang, and the dynasty was afterwards known as the Tung Chou (East Chou). It brought about the Chun-chiu (Spring and Autumn) era, with the states occupying the center of the arena while the overlord became nothing but a figurehead.

Four states stood out among the last centuries of feudal turmoil. They were the Chi in the east, Tsin in the north, Chin in the west, and Chu in the south. The entire era was marked by the constant struggle among the four, and later Wu in present-day Kiangsu, for the hegemonic title which was conferred from time to time by the Chou overlord. That was, incidentally, his only function of state in that era.

The states were ruled by hereditary nobles and the common people had very little, if any, to do with politics. In Chin and Chu, feudalism had disappeared. Tsin was still feudal in character. It was the first of the four to collapse and broke into three smaller states which ended the Chun-chiu era and ushered in the era of the Contending States.

The Chun-chiu years saw the flower of ancient Chinese philosophy. Philosophers, mostly from the privileged class, diverged into three schools. First, there were those who led in the overthrow of the old order, as represented by Teng Hsi. Second, there were the pessimists who believed the situation was hopeless and decided to save themselves by fleeing the world, as represented by Lao Tze. The third school was represented by Confucius, who worshipped the age

that had passed or was passing and devoted himself to preaching a return to the former days.

The political upheaval resulting from the latter part of the Chun-chiu era brought about a very significant revolution in Chinese political history. The state was no longer feudal in character but centralized body-politic. Nobility had no control over politics and the princes were absolute rulers. All men were nominally equal before the law. Soldiery was no longer a nobility monopoly but a universal service with conscription coming to be the recognized way of enlistment. Hand in hand with war and bloodshed, philosophy attained its golden age in this era. Though abstract thought was not neglected, all philosophers were interested in the pressing problems presented by the current political and social anarchy and offered plans for the unification or pacification of the world. The passive school, as represented by Taoists, Dialecticians, and Yang Chu, was more or less influenced by the Chun-chiu pessimists and advocated personal development and individual salvation. The active school, represented by Confucians, Mencians and Legalists, imitated Confucius in offering cures for the ills of the world.

The era of Contending States ended in 221 B.C., when Chin Shih Huang Ti defeated the remaining six states and established a centralized Chinese Empire. It opened the age of united empire in Chinese history. In fact, unity has been the normal condition and disunity a temporary interlude since Chin. Imperial unity was consolidated by the Chin and Han within the three centuries between 221 B.C. and A.D. 88 and the Chinese political structure and territorial limits took their outline in this stage. The Chinese kinship system, a development of the feudal clan system, also took its permanent form in this stage to dominate the Chinese social system. With the establishment of Confucianism as the state dogma, which teachings on loyalty and filial piety underwrote the safety of the ruling institution and the *status quo* and was thus encouraged by the ruling class, the Chinese social structure was destined to last throughout the years after the Chin and Han Dynasties. The various schools of thought also tended to disappear. Confucianism was made the state cult and Confucius was converted into a somewhat mystical personage. Taoism became a religious practice of charms

and the transmutation of metals. The Ying Yang, another Chun-chiu school of thought, degenerated into a study of five elements, signs of fortune and misfortune, lucky days and unlucky days, and from it grew the thought of Wind and Water.

After the reign of Han Ho Ti (A.D. 89-105) there was an important period of transition. After three centuries of consolidation and unification, the empire began to decline. Barbarians, with lower cultural development but stronger military power, overran the provinces on the northern frontier. Repeated internal insurrections and barbarian invasions shook the empire to its foundations, finally dissolving it into more than half a dozen fragments. After the short period of the Three Kingdoms (A.D. 208-263) the Tsin Dynasty managed again to unify the empire.

A period of spiritual decadence prevailed as Confucianism came to be an ossified system of pedantic erudition and dry ceremonial, with no inspiration for the people or even for the intellectuals. The latter indulged in a decadent form of Taoism, known as Pure Discourse, which served only as an excuse for nihilistic behaviour, denying all the ritual and moral code of Confucianism, drinking to excess, ridiculing and insulting the people of the world in every possible manner. Such a philosophy of reckless decadence could not be understood nor afforded by the common people who found their comfort in a much baser brand of Taoism which in the second century A.D., crystallized into a Taoist church. It was in such age of despair and unrest that Buddhism was introduced, probably at the beginning of the first century A.D. At first obscure and negligible, by the third century Buddhism had become a great dissolving influence for the traditional civilization, just as the barbarians had become a serious menace to the political and racial integrity of the empire.

Beginning from A.D. 300, eight princes of the House of Tsin indulged in a melee of civil war, struggling for power against each other. Taking advantage of the confusion, the Hsiung-nu (Huns) who had occupied the northern steppe and present Shansi for sometime, declared independence in A.D. 304. Other barbarians followed eagerly in their wake and within the next century more than a dozen semi-Chinese, semi-barbarian states were set up in North

China. The House of Tsin crossed the Yangtze and established a new capital at Nanking, henceforth known as the Eastern Tsin Dynasty (317-420).

By the year 376 a barbarian state known as Chin had consolidated the entire north and was considering seriously the invasion of the south and the domination of all China. A historical battle was fought at the Fei River in northern Anhwei in A.D. 383 and the barbarians were defeated. Had they won and crossed the Yangtze at a time when Chinese vitality was at a low ebb, China would have been re-barbarized and Chinese civilization destroyed. This battle laid the foundation for two centuries of stalemate between the northern and southern dynasties during which more contacts were found between the Chinese and barbarians, with the result that Chinese and barbarous elements coalesced into a new Chinese race, and Buddhism gave a new impetus to Chinese culture. Classical China had come to an end, and a Greater China, a China with Tartar blood and Buddhist philosophy, had come into being. The barbarians were not totally different races from the Chinese but, according to Dr. Owen Lattimore, groups from the stock of the same proto-Chinese which took different trends and speed in evolution in their respective environments, resulting in different degrees of "civilization." The extension of the Chinese "horizon," especially after the Han Dynasty, meant only the "reunion" of the Chinese stock.

The six centuries (A.D. 383-960) after the Battle of the Fei River saw the rise and fall of the Northern and Southern Dynasties, the Sui and Tang Dynasties, and the Five Dynasties. At its greatest extent, the House of Li, the ruling family of Tang Dynasty, which rose from present-day Shansi, ruled an area larger than modern China, including the entire Amur territory, Korea, Russian Turkestan and the Indo-China Peninsula. The Tang Emperor had the additional title of Heavenly Khan over the far-flung territories of the Chinese Empire.

Buddhism reached the height of its development during the Northern and Southern Dynasties and in Sui and Tang times. Buddhist missionaries from India and Central Asia and Chinese pilgrims to the west were common sights. Buddhist sutras were translated and Chinese treatises developed. A number of sects were imported or developed

at this time, which more or less determined the form of Buddhism in China for the next millennium. The religion, with additions from Chinese tradition, formed the chief spiritual refuge for the people.

The grandeur of the Sui and Tang Dynasties lasted barely two centuries. The empire declined from the middle of the eighth century and broke to pieces at the beginning of the tenth, when it was succeeded by the so-called Five Dynasties. Buddhism also declined and the traditional Chinese culture in the form of Confucianism began to reassert itself under the championship of Han Yu (A.D. 768-824) who advocated the doing away with all foreign influences and restoring the pure Chinese culture of Confucian days.

China of the Sung Dynasty (A.D. 960-1279) was much smaller than that of Tang. It had no natural boundary because it was militarily not strong enough to reclaim the territories occupied by the Khitans in the north and the Tibetans or Hsia in the west. Struggles between Confucianism and non-Confucianism, especially the Legalists school, and struggles between realism (led by Chu Hsi, 1130-1200) and idealism (led by Lu Chin-yuan, 1139-1192) in the Confucianists school occupied the full attention of its scholars and statesmen, with the result that the none-too-strong Sung Dynasty became even weaker. Gradually the Khitans overran all North China, and for a century and a half after A.D. 1127, the Sung held to the South and was known as the Southern Sung Dynasty. Eventually, the Mongols defeated the Khitans in the north and later overran all of China in A.D. 1279. For the first time all China was overwhelmed by a barbarous state and instead of being the empire, was only part of the Mongol Empire, although the emperor and his headquarters were within Chinese territory.

The Yuan Dynasty was a period of political catastrophe, recovery, and cultural stagnation. Besides extending as far as western Europe and having China only as a part, a huge and important part nevertheless, of the empire, the Yuan rulers were also indifferent to Chinese culture. They not only had no inclination to be absorbed into the Chinese system, but also preferred to see the Chinese adopt Mongol manners and thought. The failure of this effort was



the main reason why the Mongols were overthrown after barely 89 years in China.

China of the Ming Dynasty, which followed the Yuan, recovered a number of strategical frontiers which had been lost by the Sung. Institutionally and culturally, however, the Ming period was a miserable failure. The "eight-legged essay" examination system further bound the thought of Chinese scholars and limited their outlook, resulting in the lack of outstanding statesmen in its history. The only bright page of the Ming history was the colonization of the southwestern provinces of Yunnan, Kwangsi, and Kweichow and the expansion of Chinese to the South Seas. Seaborne trade between China and the South Seas began as early as Tang, if not earlier, and throughout Sung and Yuan the Chinese of the south never lost contact with the southern islands. After the naval expedition by the Ming eunuch Cheng Ho, beginning in A.D. 1406, the coastal Chinese began to migrate in large numbers to join their pioneer kinsmen already settled abroad. This marked a new orientation in Chinese development. Always a continental people, many Chinese after the 15th century became trained seafarers.

The end of Ming saw another barbarian group occupying China and establishing their own empire. The Manchu (Ching) Empire was different from the Mongol Empire in that the Manchus readily submitted themselves to Chinese culture and were soon absorbed by the Chinese. They also persuaded all the racial groups within the nation to adopt Chinese ways of life and a number of outlying districts were put directly under the Imperial Government control.

China in the middle of the 19th century began to feel an increasing impact from the sea, which created a series of new problems other than those arising from the mainland. The first such disastrous contact was the Opium War of 1839-42 between China and Britain when the Manchu Government tried to stop drug traffic on the coast. The resultant Treaty of Nanking was the first of the unequal treaties. It provided for a heavy indemnity, the opening of five ports, the system of extraterritoriality, the cession of Hongkong and "equitable" tariff. Two years later, in 1844, the United States

and France followed British footsteps in securing similar treaties with China. Before long all the western powers were granted similar privileges, thus establishing the "most-favored nation" system. The French treaty further obtained the right of Christian propaganda in the country and the privilege was quickly shared by the other nations.

The desire for still more privileges prompted the powers to encroach further upon China, already weakened and definitely behind the world in armed strength. A minor broil over a small vessel off Canton was excuse for a joint Anglo-French invasion which involved the entire coast from Canton to Tientsin and ultimately brought the European forces into Peking in 1860 when the victorious armies burned the famous Yuan Ming Yuan (Old Summer Palace). The war produced a second series of treaties that opened more ports, opened the Yangtze to international trade, further elaborated the system of consular jurisdiction that had been initiated by the Treaty of Nanking, and drew up a new tariff. Besides, England got a strip of Kowloon opposite Hongkong. Meanwhile, Russia silently secured the Amur region and the seacoast east of the Ussuri River.

The weakness of the Manchu Government further encouraged internal unrest. The most serious of the rebellions was the Taiping Rebellion which, starting from Kwangsi in 1850, secured within three years most of the southern provinces. The Taiping Rebels established themselves in Nanking and one of their expeditionary forces once penetrated as far north as the vicinity of Tientsin. The movement borrowed a number of ideas and slogans from Christianity which gave the struggle a touch of cultural antagonism between native and imported cultures, and was seen by Tseng Kuo-fan (scholar of the Confucian school and later made marquis by the Manchu emperor as a reward for his fight against the Taiping Rebels) as such. Tseng led his Hunan volunteers in the fight of upholding Confucianism against "foreign ideology." He was later reinforced by Li Hung-chang (also made marquis) and his Anhwei volunteers. The entire nation rallied to Tseng's clever propaganda. The Imperial Forces under Tseng's command re-entered Nanking in 1864, and the Manchus were given a new lease of life for another 50 years.

The French took Indo-China in 1882-85 and Great Britain occupied Burma in 1886. A number of concessions and leased territories were extorted from China in the last few years of the 19th century.

Politically still feudal and culturally a part of the Chinese complex, Japan had within one generation transformed itself into an efficient political machine of the European type and joined with alacrity in the international scramble for special privileges in China. The piratical characteristic of her people, which in the middle of the Ming Dynasty had ravaged many a coastal city in Kiangsu and Chekiang, flared up again when the Meiji Restoration gave her modern military strength. She invaded Formosa in 1874, annexed the Loochoos in 1879 and fought China in 1894, trying to oust Chinese influence from Korea. The first Sino-Japanese War resulted in a Japanese victory and the peace treaty concluded in 1895 gave Japan Formosa, a huge indemnity, and a foothold on the continent by forcing China to recognize Korea as an independent country under Japanese tutelage. Korea was formally annexed by Japan in 1910.

After the Chinese defeat in the first Sino-Japanese War, the western powers began to consider seriously the partition of the old and weak empire. The American declaration of "Open Door" policy in 1899 stopped the scramble for spheres of influence and upheld Chinese territorial integrity. In the previous year, a reform was undertaken by the Manchu Emperor Kwangshu who for about 100 days in 1898 issued a number of edicts which envisaged far-reaching changes. But the force of reaction, under the leadership of the Empress Dowager, forced the emperor into virtual retirement and set up a regime of reaction. Finally, in 1900, the reactionary administration sought to defeat the western powers by the employment of the fanatical Boxers, resulting in the Boxer Rebellion. Chinese defeat in this war gave the powers a heavy indemnity, a Legation Quarter in Peking guarded by foreign troops, and an open road between the then capital and the sea with foreign garrisons.

This defeat also sealed the fate of the Manchu Dynasty. The Empress Dowager and her government began to realize their unpopularity and the necessity of somehow meeting the people's revolutionary demands. A half-hearted

attempt was made for constitutional reform, but it was too late. The revolutionists, led by Dr. Sun Yat-sen and others, finally brought about the October 10 (1911) revolution, forcing the last Manchu emperor to abdicate. The Chinese Republic was formally established on New Year's Day, 1912. Despite two abortive attempts to restore monarchism, one by Yuan Shih-kai trying to establish a new dynasty (1915) and the other a plot to restore the Manchus (1917), the Republic was firmly established.

The story of the Republic is the story of the Kuomintang and the story of the Kuomintang before 1925 is that of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, its founder. Born in 1866 in Hsingshan district in Kwangtung, he received his education in the Hawaii College in Honolulu and Queen's College, Hongkong. He was trained to be a doctor but decided to dedicate himself to the task of establishing a republic after China's defeat in 1885 in her war with France. He organized the *Hsin Chung Hui* (Regenerate China Society) in 1892 in Macao. Later he founded three more *Hsin Chung Hui*, one in Honolulu in 1894, one in Hongkong in 1895 and another in the United States in the same year.

Dr. Sun launched his first revolutionary uprising in Canton on September 9, 1895. It failed. Three more unsuccessful attempts were made in 1900, 1902 and 1904, respectively. The failures convinced Dr. Sun of the necessity of organization. He began to contact Chinese secret societies both in China and abroad. In the spring of 1905 Dr. Sun went to Europe and enunciated his *San Min Chu I*, or Three People's Principles, and *Wu Chuan Hsien Fa*, or Quintuple-Power Constitution, in Brussels. The same summer, he lectured on the principles and the necessity of organization for revolutionary purposes when he met revolutionary delegates from various Chinese provinces in Japan. As a result, the *Chung Kuo Tung Men Hui*, or the Revolutionary League of China, was inaugurated in Tokyo in August, 1905, and Dr. Sun elected its Tsung-li, director-general. It had branches in Chinese provinces and overseas Chinese colonies.

Between the organization in 1905 and the successful Wuhan Uprising on October 10, 1911, the *Tung Men Hui* instigated no less than 13 abortive revolts and eight assassination attempts.

The most daring one occurred on March 29, 1911, when the revolutionaries stormed the Viceroy's yamen in Canton. Scores of them died in action and more were caught and later executed. The bodies of 72 of them were later given a mass burial at the Yellow Flower Cliff outside Canton.

When the revolutionaries struck at Wuchang in Hupeh on October 10, their comrades and sympathizers in other provinces rose in response. Uprisings sprang up in Hunan, Shensi, Shansi, Yunnan, Kiangsu, Chekiang, Anhwei, Kweichow, Kwangsi, Kwangtung, Liaoning (Fengtien), Kirin, Heilungkiang, Fukien, Shantung, Honan, Szechwan, Shanghai, and Nanking. Dr. Sun was at Denver, Colorado, when he heard of the revolt in Wuchang. He hurried back to China. Arriving in Nanking, he was elected provisional president of the Republic of China, and assumed office on January 1, 1912. On February 12, the Manchu Emperor abdicated. On February 23, Dr. Sun resigned in favor of Yuan Shih-kai. A provisional constitution of 56 articles was promulgated on March 11, 1912.

The *Tung Men Hui*, previously a secret body, became an open organization upon the establishment of the Republic. Sung Chiao-jen, advocating the broadening of the league's basis to include other political parties, formed the Kuomintang by amalgamating the United Democratic Party, the People's Common Progress Party, the Democratic Progress Party and the People's Public Party. Dr. Sun was elected the president of the new party. He never assumed office, but asked Sung to act on his behalf.

The Kuomintang won the majority of the seats in the Parliament. To counteract its influence, Yuan Shih-kai subsidized the Republican Party, the Democratic Party and the United Party to form a Progressive Party. Following the assassination of Sung Chiao-jen in Shanghai on March 20, 1913 by Yuan's agents, Dr. Sun planned a punitive expedition against Yuan from Kwangtung. This, however, failed. Meanwhile, Yuan abused his powers, defying resolutions of Parliament. Dr. Sun ordered a widespread revolt in Shanghai, Kiangsi, Nanking, Kwangtung, Fukien, Hunan, Anhwei, and Szechwan, but the revolts failed. The Kuomintang was outlawed by Yuan and many members left the country.

After this failure, Dr. Sun decided to overhaul the Kuomintang. On March 6, 1914, in Tokyo, he was elected Tsung-li of the newly organized *Chung Hua Ke Min Tang*, or the Chinese Revolutionary Party. The headquarters were moved from Tokyo to Shanghai after the death of Yuan Shih-kai.

When Yuan Shih-kai plotted to put himself on the throne of a new dynasty in 1915, Dr. Sun directed widespread uprisings in Dairen, Shanghai, Hunan, Chekiang, Yunnan, Kweichow, Kwangsi, Kwangtung, Shantung, and Shensi. The uprisings did not cease until after the death of Yuan Shih-kai, when Li Yuan-hung became president. The latter declared himself in favor of the restoration of the provisional constitution and the reassembly of Parliament, which had been dissolved by Yuan early in 1915.

Resuming the premiership after defeating Chang Hsun's restoration plot in 1917, Tuan Chi-jui used illegitimate methods to bring pressure on Parliament to participate in World War I. Dr. Sun took part of the Chinese navy southward to Canton and established a military government. This government underwent a re-organization in 1918, and Dr. Sun resigned from the presidency.

In 1919, Dr. Sun changed the name of the party from *Chung Hua Ke Min Tang* to *Chung Kuo Kuo Min Tang*. He was again elected president of the Canton Provisional Government in 1921, but was forced to retire by Chen Chiung-ming in 1922. In 1924, Dr. Sun again re-organized the Kuomintang and proceeded to form party nuclei in all public or semi-public bodies and societies. The party established the National Kwangtung University and the Whampoa Military Academy. This conformed with its deliberate policy of instilling its principles in the masses, the students, and in the armed forces in preparation for the subsequent Anti-Northern Expedition.

At the beginning of 1925, there was a change in the Peking Government, which made Dr. Sun hope that the unification of the country was within reach. Ill, he went to North China for the twofold purpose of recovering his health and of calling a national convention with the northern leaders. His health, however, declined rapidly, and he died in Peking on March 12, 1925.

Following Dr. Sun's death, the responsibility of leading the revolution

fell on Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. Under his leadership the Nationalist forces, officered by cadets of the Whampoa Military Academy, set out from Canton on June 9, 1926, to oust the northern warlords and to unify the country. In two years the Anti-Northern Expedition was successfully completed. The National Government formed in Canton in 1925 was moved to Nanking in 1928.

Civil wars among warlords fill the early pages of the history of the Chinese Republic. A cultural revolution began at the universities in Peking during the years of the First Great War and spread all over China. By 1900, western-styled schools of all degrees had been established, and western ideas, especially of science and democracy, were silently but irresistibly penetrating into the country. The new movement advocated the use of the vernacular instead of the literary style of writing, a scientific re-examination of traditional civilization in all its aspects, wholesale and systematic introduction of western philosophy, literature, and culture, and an attempt at a synthesis of things Chinese and western and a new cultural creation.

The National Government, established in Nanking in 1928, is the strongest and most progressive government in the history of the Republic. The government is under the direction of the Kuomintang, and the nation is undergoing a tutelage period preparing for real democracy.

In the first generation of the Republic, the western powers were more or less confined to their established rights part of which, due to the rising demands of the Chinese people, had been retroceded. The only nation which not only clung to her gains but also tried to grab more was Japan. Yuan Shih-kai's monarchical attempt in 1915 was backed up by Japanese loans and ronins. The Twenty-One Demands in 1915 had the intention of making China a Japanese protectorate. The Japanese occupation of Tsingtao during the First Great War gave the Island Empire a foothold in China besides the strip of territory along the South Manchuria Railway which she seized from the Russians after the Russo-Japanese War in 1904-5. Japanese ambitions were unmasked in the notorious Tanaka Memorial published in 1927. The Japanese invasion of Shantung to try to stop the advance of the Nationalist Anti-Northern Expeditionary Force in

1928 was the first concrete step towards the realization of the Japanese continental policy.

Unification of entire China under the National Government and the rapid progress made under the Kuomintang regime prompted Japan to take direct aggressive measures. The "Mukden Incident" on the night of September 18, 1931, marked the first step in Japan's armed aggression when she began her forceful occupation of the three Chinese northeastern provinces. The Shanghai War in early 1932 strengthened Japan's position in Shanghai. The "War of the Great Wall" in early 1933 gave Japan control over the eastern section of the Great Wall, added Jehol to the puppet organization in the northeast, invaded northern Chahar and carved out a demilitarized zone in eastern Hopei under Japanese dominance. By a show of force, Japan forced the Chinese national army and Kuomintang headquarters to evacuate Peiping (Peking), Tientsin, Hopei, and Chahar, while another puppet regime was established by the Japanese in the eastern Hopei demilitarized zone. After 1935, Japan resorted to large scale smuggling to undermine China's financial strength, and drug trafficking to poison the Chinese people. A number of "economic co-operations" were demanded in North China, aiming at alienating this part of the country from the rest of China. A futile attempt was made in the winter of 1936 by puppet Mongol and Japanese units to invade Suiyuan. The Sian Incident in December, 1936, showed Chinese solidarity. Japan realized that it was impossible to deal with China separately and any blow, if effective at all, would have to be delivered to the nation as a whole. The first half of 1937 saw her preparing for a full-dress invasion. And the incident of the Marco Polo Bridge near Peiping the night of July 7, 1937, raised the curtain for the present Sino-Japanese War.

The incident, by which Japan tried to alienate North China from the Republic, was meant to be a "local issue" by the Japanese. But the Chinese believed they had reached the limit of endurance in face of Japanese aggression. On July 17, at Kuling, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek stated as the minimum conditions of negotiation that—

"1. Any kind of settlement must not infringe upon the territorial integrity and sovereign rights of our nation;



2. The status of the Hopei and Chahar Political Council is fixed by the National Government and we should not allow any illegal alterations; 3. We will not agree to the removal by outside pressure of local officials appointed by the National Government such as the chairman of the Hopei and Chahar Political Council; 4. We will not allow any restriction being placed upon the position now held by the 29th Army."

The entire nation rallied to the Generalissimo's stand. On August 4, General Pai Chung-hsi visited Nanking, pledging the support of Kwangsi Province. On September 22, the Chinese Communist Party dissolved the "Soviet Republic" and the Red Army was re-organized as part of the Chinese national army.

Seeing no peaceful settlement, General Sung Cheh-yuan, chairman of the Hopei and Chahar Political Council, ordered on July 25 the 29th Army to fight in self-defense. On the 29th, Peiping fell.

In Shanghai, the Hungjao Military Airfield Incident the night of August 9, 1937, when two Japanese marines were shot while trying to force their way onto the Chinese airfield, brought the war to a national scale. The Battle of Shanghai broke out on August 13. The Chinese fought for three months and finally evacuated Shanghai on November 11, 1937. On November 20, the National Government in a statement declared its removal to Chungking to continue the war of resistance. On December 13, Nanking fell. The Chinese military headquarters, however, was removed to the Wuhan cities, from where it was later removed to Chungking after the evacuation of the Wuhan cities on October 25, 1938.

On August 30, 1937, the Chinese Government sent to the secretary-general for communication to the member states of the League of Nations and the non-member states represented on the Far Eastern Advisory Committee a statement concerning events after the Marco Polo Bridge Incident. On September 12, China addressed another note to the League invoking Articles X, XI, and XVII of the League Covenant. The League Assembly on October 6, 1937, voted that the assembly "expresses its moral support for China and recommends that members of the League should refrain from taking any action which might have the effect of weakening China's power of resistance and thus of

increasing her difficulties in the present conflict and should also consider how far they can individually extend aid to China." The same resolution was passed by the 100th Session of the League Council on February 2, 1938. The 101st Session of the League Council held on May 10, also "earnestly urges members of the League to do their utmost to give effect to the recommendations contained in previous resolutions of the assembly and council in this matter, and take into serious and sympathetic consideration requests they may receive from the Chinese Government in conformity with the said resolutions; and express its sympathy with China in her heroic struggle for the maintenance of her independence and territorial integrity, threatened by the Japanese invasion, and in the suffering which is thereby inflicted on her people."

On September 11, 1938, China formally requested the League to apply Article XVII of the League Covenant. On the 30, the Council adopted a report which reads in part:

"1. The report of the Far Eastern Advisory Committee, adopted by the Assembly on October 6, 1937, states 'that the military operations carried on by Japan against China by land, sea, and air . . . can be justified neither on the basis of existing legal instruments nor on that of the right of self-defense, and that (they are) in contravention of Japan's obligations under the Nine-Power Treaty of February 6, 1922, and under the Pact of Paris of August 7, 1928.'

"2. The Japanese Government, having been invited, under Article XVII, paragraph 1 of the Covenant, to comply with the obligations devolving upon the members of the League for the settlement of their disputes, has declined this invitation.

"3. Although, in conformity with established practice, it is, in principle, for the members of the League to appreciate in each particular case whether the conditions required for the application of Article XVI and Article XVII, paragraph 3, are fulfilled, in the special case now before the Council, the military operations in which Japan is engaged in China have already been found by the Assembly to be illicit, as mentioned above, and the Assembly's finding retain its full force.

"4. In view of Japan's refusal of the invitation extended to the provisions of Article XVI are, under Article XVII, paragraph 3, applicable in present, conditions and the members of the League are entitled not only to act as before on the basis of the said finding, but also to adopt individually the measures provided for in Article XVI.

"5. As regards co-ordinated action in carrying out such measures, it is evident, from the experience of the past, that all elements of co-operation which are necessary, are not yet assured."

Meanwhile, an invitation was extended by the Belgian Government at the request of Great Britain and the United States to signatories and adherents to the Nine-Power Treaty of 1922 for a conference at Brussels according to Article VII of that treaty. All except Japan accepted the invitation. The conference in Brussels began on November 3, 1937.

After mature deliberation, the conference adopted a resolution on

November 24, 1937, stating that the conference is convinced that force itself can provide no just and lasting solution for disputes between nations, and a satisfactory settlement can only be achieved by consultation with powers concerned.

The Japanese war of aggression was not only directed against China but also other powers in the Far East. Japan had repeatedly attacked interests of the third powers in the course of the war, and her aggressive intentions were further exposed when her military forces entered Indo-China on September 22, 1940, after the collapse of France. She was then preparing for war against both the United States and Great Britain. Then came the treacherous attacks on Pearl Harbor and other American and British possessions in the Pacific on December 8, 1941. The next day, China declared war on Japan as well as Germany and Italy. The Sino-Japanese War became a phase of the world-wide conflict between democracy and aggression.

#### CHRONOLOGY OF CHINESE DYNASTIES.

LEGENDARY		
Huang Ti (Yellow Emperor)	2698 B.C.	
Shao Hao	2598 B.C.	
Chuan Hsu	2514 B.C.	
Ti Ku	2436 B.C.	
Ti Chih	2366 B.C.	
Yao	2357 B.C.	
Shun	2255 B.C.	
HISTORICAL		
Hsia	2205—1766 B.C.	
Shang	1766—1122 B.C.	
Chou	1122—258 B.C.	
Chin	256—207 B.C.	
Han	206 B.C.—A.D. 221	
The Three Kingdoms:		
Wei	A.D. 220—265	
Shu Han	A.D. 221—263	
Wu	A.D. 222—280	
Tsin	A.D. 265—313	
Chinese South Dynasties:		
Eastern Tsin	A.D. 317—419	
Sung	A.D. 420—477	
Chi	A.D. 479—499	
Liang	A.D. 499—557	
Chen	A.D. 557—589	
Barbarian North:		
Han	A.D. 308—319	
Yen	A.D. 336—370	
Chao	A.D. 316—328	
Later Chao	A.D. 329—351	
Chin	A.D. 351—394	
North Wei	A.D. 386—535	

Barbarian North:		
North Chi	...	A.D. 550—581
North Chou	...	A.D. 557—589
Sui	...	A.D. 589—618
Tang	...	A.D. 618—907
Later Liang	...	A.D. 907—921
Later Tang	...	A.D. 923—934
Later Chin	...	A.D. 936—944
Later Han	...	A.D. 947—948
Later Chou	...	A.D. 951—960
Sung (North Branch)	...	A.D. 960—1126
Sung (South Branch)	...	A.D. 1127—1278

#### TARTAR.

Liao	...	A.D. 907—1119
Western Liao (Kerait)	...	A.D. 1125—1166
Chin (Golden)	...	A.D. 1115—1234
Yuan (Mongol)	...	A.D. 1206—1368

#### CHINESE AGAIN

Ming	...	A.D. 1368—1644
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#### MANCHU

Ching	...	A.D. 1644—1911
Shun-chih	...	A.D. 1644—1662
Kang-shi	...	A.D. 1662—1723
Yung-cheng	...	A.D. 1723—1736
Chien-lung	...	A.D. 1736—1796
Chia-ching	...	A.D. 1796—1821
Tao-kuang	...	A.D. 1821—1850
Hsien-feng	...	A.D. 1850—1861
Tung-chi	...	A.D. 1861—1875
Kuang-hsu	...	A.D. 1875—1908
Hsuan-tung	...	A.D. 1908—1911
		(abdicated)

## RELIGION

The Chinese as a people are not very religious. Except a small minority, the greater portion of the people are both eclectic and tolerant in religion. An average Chinese may worship his ancestors, participate in Buddhist rituals, join in Taoist adventures, and follow Christian customs without feeling the slightest incongruity or inconsistency. Therefore, it is nearly impossible to give the figures of *bona fide* believers in any religion in China in spite of claims of the different beliefs.

There has been no established national church in China throughout her history. An emperor might from time to time shower special favors on a particular religion in which he believed, but the effect was usually short-lived. Under the Republic, it has been definitely provided that every person shall have the undisputed freedom of religious belief.

## ANCESTOR WORSHIP

The spiritual life of the ancient Chinese, like that of all other ancient peoples, started with the personification into god and worship of all the important phenomena of nature. There were the Gods of Rain, Wind, and Rivers; Lord of Thunder; God or Goddess of Marriage; Spirit of Wayside; God of Kitchen; Divine Archer; and a host of other divinities. Above them was a supreme god, Shang Ti or Tien, who was the Lord of All Gods and Men. Of equal standing with the Shang Ti was Hou Tu, the Lord of Earth. The system was well established before the era of Chou.

The divine and the human were not very clearly differentiated. All of the dead became gods and were duly worshipped by their descendants. Many take this ancestor-worship as a religion. But there has been no code or ethical dogma in ancestor-worshipping. Even the ritual is limited to sacrifices paid periodically during festivals and death and birth anniversaries. Enthusiastic worshippers may pay sacrifices at the beginning and the middle of the month.

The practice started, in the opinion of many sociologists, as an extension of filial piety, but gradually degenerated into a superstitious routine, believing that such worship would bring goodwill and protection from the dead. The fact that remote ancestors are usually left in oblivion, together with the lack of codes and dogmas, prove that ancestor-worship is not a religion but an ethical practice with religious devotion.

## CONFUCIANISM

Confucianism is a western name, although Chinese speak of *Kung Chiao*, Confucian Teaching, or *Ju Chiao*, the Teaching of the Learned. Strictly speaking, Confucianism is not a religion as it has no ritual that characterizes a religion. Nobody can derive any spiritual comfort typical of other religious beliefs from the Teaching of the Learned. It is a philosophy, a system of ethics that directs human mode of living. The seasonal sacrifices are customs "borrowed" from ancestor-worship since the erection of temples and the holding of ceremonies in honor of ancestors antedated Confucius.

Confucianism, however, has been and still is, intentionally or unintentionally, the main guiding spirit of the Chinese way of life. The teachings and philosophy of Confucius and his followers are embodied in the Four Books and Five Classics. The Four Books are the Analects, sayings of Confucius collected by his disciples; the Great Learning, a treatise written by his disciple Tsengtze; the Doctrine of the Mean, by his grandson Tzessu; and the works of Mencius, disciple of Tzessu. The Five Classics are the *Yi Ching* or Book of Changes used in divination, the *Shu Ching* or Book of History, the *Shih Ching* or the Collection of Poetry, the *Li Chi* or Book of Rites, and the *Chun Chiu* or Spring and Autumn.

Confucianism has no priesthood. The presence of the head of the state and principal civil officials at sacrifices does not mean they are priests but the heads of a family in ancestor-worship. Respects paid to Confucius are not those paid to a prophet or living god but to a great sage whose teachings promote peace and good order in society and encourage moral living by the individual. His philosophy allows research into other philosophies and religions and practical studies.

On May 31, 1934, the Standing Committee of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang designated August 27, the birthday of Confucius, as a national holiday, and later the day was also designated as Teacher's Day commemorating the greatest teacher in Chinese history.

## TAOISM

Taoism began as a philosophy but later developed into a religion. As a philosophy it is traced to Laotze, born

in 604 B.C. near the modern city of Kweitch in eastern Honan. He was a profound thinker, a political philosopher of keen insight and a great ethical teacher. His doctrine of the right way and "Do Nothing" ruled out the idea of forming a religion and establishing himself as a saint, for this would be contrary to his teachings. Yet, seven centuries after his death, his teachings degenerated into a ritual embodying a polytheistic hodge-podge of witchcraft and demonology. And his treatise, the *Tao Te Ching*, the Book of Way and Virtue, became the bible of Taoists.

The first temple honoring him was erected in A.D. 166. Chang Liang, who played a leading part in the establishment of the Han Dynasty, was declared to have been one of the first patriarchs of the Taoists and his descendant in the eighth generation (A.D. 34), Chang Tao-ling, was proclaimed the first Taoist pope. Since then his descendants have been the head of the sect. In A.D. 423, the emperor conferred upon the pope of that day and his successors the title of Tien Shih or Heavenly Preceptor. In 1016 the pope was granted a large domain in Kiangsi. The White Deer Grotto on the Dragon-Tiger Mountain, where Chang Tao-ling discovered the elixir of immortality and ascended to Heaven after living to be 123 years of age, is still the papal seat.

Priests of Taoism are known as Tao Shih. They have their own temples, rituals and bible. They are allowed to marry. Some are anchorites who through meditation and ascetic practices seek immortality. Others make a living by acting as priests for believers.

## BUDDHISM

Buddhism in China, after it was introduced from India during the first century, bears little resemblance to the religion in its purer forms. A number of native legends, traditions, rites and deities have been added to Buddhism to give it a strong Chinese flavor.

Buddhism first came to China in A.D. 61, when Han Ming Ti despatched 18 ambassadors to the Siyu to seek for instruction in Buddhism. After six years, they returned from Khoten with two Buddhist monks, a number of Hinayana Sutras and Buddha statues. The emperor built the first Buddhist temple, the Pai-ma-ssu (White Horse Temple, as the texts were brought to China on a white horse) in Loyang for them. The

temple still stands to-day after repeated repairs. Seventy years later, two other monks brought Mahayana Buddhism to China.

The work of translating the sutras into Chinese was in its prime in the seven hundred years after the Han Dynasty. The most famous ones include Kumara-jiva of the fourth century and Hsuan-chuang and I-ching of the tenth century. By the end of the fifth century, the carving of Buddha statues on rocks became very popular and prevalent in China and influenced to a considerable extent the future development of Chinese fine arts.

Altogether ten schools of Buddhism were established between the 4th and 7th centuries in China, each with its own way of training disciples in its principal sutras. They include the Tze-en or Dharmalaksana School, the Prajnaparamita or Three Sastras School, the Tien-tai School, the Hsien-shou School, the Pure Land School, the Zen School, the Mantra School, the Satyasiddhi School, the Chu-she School and the Nan-shan School. Of them, the most influential was the Zen School. It is estimated that at present there are in China more than 267,000 Buddhist temples and 738,000 monks and nuns, while the number of laymen and laywomen who have taken the five vows is five times more, and the number of believers is hard to estimate.

In recent years, Chinese Buddhism has assumed an unprecedented activity. The Chinese Buddhist Association is working towards a unification of administrative practices and the national authorities have been paying attention to Buddhist affairs. Chinese Buddhist scholars are moving in two directions—to Tibet and Ceylon. The Tibetan school's philosophy and systematic training and the Ceylon school's strict discipline are sought by Chinese Buddhists to reinforce their movement. In 1936, the Commission on Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs of the Executive Yuan decided to grant scholarships to monks from various provinces to study in Tibet and for Tibetan lamas to study in other parts of China. In 1937 the Tibetan scholar Hsi-jao-chia-tso was invited by the National Government to deliver a series of lectures at five national universities.

Besides sending Buddhist students to Thailand and Ceylon for studying the Southern School, a Chinese Buddhist



Goodwill Mission to the South Seas was organized in November, 1939, with Abbot Tai Hsu as its leader. After visiting centers of Buddhist interest and worship in Burma, Malaya, Ceylon, and India, and exchanging views with local Buddhists for the promotion of a closer fellowship among Buddhists of China and these lands, the party returned to Chungking in May, 1940.

During the war years, Chinese Buddhists have been remarkably active in war relief. Free schools, clinics, and orphanages have been organized in many temples. During the Battle of Shanghai and the bombings of Chungking, monks were most active in serving as stretcher-bearers and in first aid and relief services.

### LAMAISM

Lamaism is a form of Buddhism believed chiefly by peoples of Tibet and Mongolia and is a mixture of Buddhism and Shamanistic practices. Up to the seventh century the people of Tibet had a primitive religion consisting chiefly of witchcraft, a form of Shamanism. About the year A.D. 630 Buddhism was introduced by a man named Shrong-tsan-sgam-po. Its mixture with the native Shamanism resulted in the present-day Lamaism. The lamas have 108 sacred scriptures and numerous tracts of lesser importance. These include historical and philosophical treatises and biographies of Buddhist sages. All books are printed with wooden blocks on loose leaves, some in golden letters and silk bound.

Lamaism was formerly dominated by the Dukupas or Red Caps. In the Ming Dynasty, a saint born in Sining named Tsongkapa was dissatisfied with the magic and pagan practices carried out by the lamas, so he effected a reform by forbidding necromancy and marriage among lamas. A schism followed. The result was the formation of the Celupas or Yellow Caps, now predominating. Tsongkapa died in 1478 and his body is preserved in the monastery of Gandin not far from Lhasa.

Lamaism has a paradise, but it is not this place that the Tibetan and Mongol believers so earnestly seek. Their chief hope is to be re-incarnated in a higher state. This re-incarnation is the most important feature of Lamaism. After the death of a Hutukhtu, the Living Buddha, his spirit is said to re-appear in the person of some boy born at that time and thus comes forth re-embodied.

A number of candidates are chosen and are confronted with an array of articles among which one or two were used by the deceased. The one who picks them out without difficulty is his reincarnation and becomes the new Living Buddha. It is by this means that the trinity of the lama saints—the Dalai and Panchan Lamas and the Djeptsung Damba Hutukhtu—are chosen. When the Djeptsung Damba Hutukhtu was re-incarnated in Mongolia and later went to live at Urga, the influence of the Celupas began to spread to all Mongolia. The last Djeptsung damba, who revolted against Chinese rule at the beginning of the Republic, died in 1924, and no re-incarnation took place.

The Dalai Lama is the spiritual head of Tibet and next to him is the Panchan Lama, although Panchan is usually considered worthy of more veneration than the other, as his office is less contaminated by worldly cares. Directly under the Dalai Lama are three great monasteries in and around Lhasa—the Djeptsung Monastery with four abbots and 7,700 lamas, the Sera Monastery with three abbots and 5,500 lamas, and the Gandin Monastery with two abbots and 3,300 lamas. Among the three, the Djeptsung is the largest but the Gandin is most influential as the chief abbot residing there is next to the Dalai and Panchan Lamas in rank. The present Dalai Lama, the 14th in the line, was found in Chinghai and enthroned in February, 1940. The Panchan Lama died in November, 1937, and no re-incarnation has yet been found.

In Mongolia, Lamaism began to flourish at the time of Kublai Khan who for political reasons took this religion under his protection. Likewise, the Ming and Ching Dynasties utilized it to achieve similar ends and exalted its system of worship.

Of the Living Buddhas, the most important are the Changchia Hutukhtu with his headquarters in Peiping, Galdan Siretu Hutukhtu, Minchur Hutukhtu at Kumbun but attached to the Metropolitan, the Chilung Hutukhtu in Tibet, the Namuka Hutukhtu at Sining, the Achia Hutukhtu at Sining, Lakuo Hutukhtu at Suiyuan, and Tsahantarkhan Hutukhtu at Jehol. Under the Hutukhtus are Jassak Da Lamas and Jassak Lamas (Grand Princes and Princes of the Church), Kan Pu (Abbots), Da Lamas (Priors), Fu Da Lamas (Vice-Priors), Hsien-san Lamas (Higher Grade

Clergy), Tu Mu Chi (Stewards of Lamaseries), Ke Sze Kuei (Preceptors who conduct the choral services), Ke Lung (Priests of the First Order), Pan Ti (Priests of the Second Order) and Sha Pi (Novices).

### MOHAMMEDANISM

Followers of Mohammedanism, Islam, in China claim to number 48,000,000, with 30,000,000 in the Northwest. The number is greatly exaggerated considering the fact that the entire Northwest—Sinkiang, Kansu, Chinghai, Ningsia, Suiyuan and Shensi—has only a total population of 22,000,000. A more reasonable estimate is from 10 to 15 million persons with 5,000,000 in the Northwest.

According to Islamic history, Mohammedanism made its advent in China in A.D. 651, when the governments of the Muslim nations began to pay tribute to the Tang Emperor. Saad Abu Wakkas first came to China from the south by sea and founded the Huai Sheng Mosque in Canton, the first one in China. Later Muslims came to China by the overland route through Persia and Afghanistan into Sinkiang and other parts of China. In A.D. 755, the Caliph Abu Grafar sent an expedition of 4,000 Arabian soldiers to China at the request of the Chinese government to help subdue a rebellion and rendered meritorious service in that connection. The men then settled down in China and many present Chinese Muslims are the descendants of these Muslim soldiers and their Chinese wives.

Islam culture has been enjoying close attention in China during the war. In February, 1939, upon the petition of the Chinese Islamic National Salvation Federation, the National Government decided to make the study of Islamic culture a regular feature in the curricula of Chinese universities. Mohammed Ma Kin, Abudorahaman Na Chung and Badroden Hai Wei-liang served as the first lecturers. A number of Chinese students are also studying in Azhar University of Egypt with scholarships granted by King Farouk and subsidies given by the Chinese Ministry of Education.

The federation despatched a Chinese Muslim Near East Goodwill Mission in January, 1938, to visit the Near and Middle East nations. They reached Mecca in time for the Haji in February during which they met 1,000,000 representatives from the Muslim world.

They also visited Egypt, Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Iran, Turkey, and India, furthering Chinese relations with all the Muslim nations and peoples. Another mission, the Chinese Islamic South Asia Goodwill Mission, went to the South Seas in December, 1939, and visited Malaya, India, Arabia, and Iran. Chinese Muslims, individually and collectively, have contributed much to the war, both in active service as well as in relief work. The most outstanding of the Muslim leaders are General Pai Tsung-hsi, Deputy Chief of Staff, and Generals Ma Hung-kwei and Ma Pu-fang, governors of Ningsia and Chinghai, respectively.

(For Catholicism and Protestantism, see Chapter on Foreign Missions in China)

### LANGUAGE

In China are found not only many dialects but also many languages of diverse structures spoken by peoples of different cultures and customs. They are mainly divided into three families—the Indo-Chinese, Austro-Asiatic, and Altai Families, according to Professor Li Fang-kwei.

The Indo-Chinese (Tibeto-Chinese or Sinitic) family languages are spoken in the Chinese provinces (including the Northeastern provinces and Sinkiang) and Tibet, as well as in Indo-China, Burma, and Thailand. One of the characteristics of this family is monosyllabism. The Tibeto-Burman branch of this family still possesses some of the prefixes but the Chinese and Tai group have lost all active use of the prefixes.

The tendency of developing a system of tones is another characteristic of this family. It is not known whether tones existed in the primitive Indo-Chinese speech, and it is doubtful whether tones existed in classical Tibetan, but modern Chinese, Tibetan, Burmese, and the Tai languages all have tones. These tones are further influenced by the nature of the initial consonant and are divided into two main categories: those with an original voiced initial consonant and those with an original voiceless consonant.

Another phonetic tendency in common with this family of languages is the unvoicing of the original voiced initial consonants but this has not been carried out in all dialects. It happens in most Chinese dialects, except the Wu and the Hsiang, in practically all the Tai

languages, and in many Tibeto-Burman languages, so that what was originally a voiced initial is only detected in the nature of the tone.

The family has four main branches of languages—Chinese, Tai, Miao-Yao, and Tibeto-Burman.

The modern Chinese national language has some 400 possible syllables with its ancient initial and final consonants dropped off in the course of thousands of years. Each of the 400 syllables has theoretically four tones. This phonetic simplification caused the existence of many homonyms, but is counterbalanced by a great increase in the use of compounds, so that what was formerly expressed by one syllable must now be expressed in the colloquial by two or more syllables. This Chinese branch is again divided into the following groups:

1. The Northern Mandarin group occupies a large area in North China in the provinces of Hopei, Shansi, Shensi, Kansu, Honan, Shantung, the Three Northeastern Provinces, Jehol, Chahar, Suiyuan, Sinkiang, as well as Hupeh, Anhwei, and Kiangsu in the Yangtze Valley. It is characterized by the unvoicing of the ancient voiced stops, affricates, and spirants, and by the disappearance of the "entering tone." There are consequently only four tones: *ying-ping*, *yang-ping*, *shang*, and *chu*. The Peiping dialect, which is now the national dialect, is the best known of this group. Further divisions of this group are possible.

2. The Eastern Mandarin group is spoken along the lower Yangtze in Anhwei and Kiangsu Provinces. It is differentiated from the northern group by the existence of the "entering tone" as a short tone, but the final consonants *-p*, *-t*, and *-k*, are lost. It represents, therefore, five tones.

3. The Southwestern Mandarin group is a very uniform type of speech in Szechwan, Yunnan, Kweichow, and parts of Hupeh and Kwangsi. It, like the northern group, has no entering tone.

4. The Wu group is spoken south of the Yangtze in Kiangsu, Chekiang, and in the eastern part of Kiangsi. It is characterized by the preservation of the ancient voiced stops as aspirated voiced consonants and by the preservation of the "entering tone" with the loss of final consonants. It often presents six or seven tones.

5. The Kan-Hakka group is spoken mainly in Kiangsi and Kwangtung. It is characterized by the change of the ancient voiced stops into aspirated surds in all four tones (aspirated only in *ping-sheng* in the three Mandarin groups). The "entering tone" is preserved and the finals preserved according to dialects. There are often six or seven tones. The Northern or Kan group has the tendency to pronounce all aspirated surds as voiced in connected speech. The Hakka group preserves the final consonants much better.

6. The Min group has two sub-groups, the northern group in northern Fukien and the southern group in southern Fukien, eastern Kwangtung, Hainan Island, and Leichow Peninsula. It is characterized by the change of the original voiced stops as unaspirated surds, even in *ping-sheng* where the aspirated pronunciation is the prevalent one, by the preservation of the original palatal plosives as dental plosives, and by the preservation of final consonants. It has, as a rule, seven tones. The Hainan dialects present many phonetic peculiarities, possibly under the influence of an aboriginal speech, presumably a Tai language.

7. The Cantonese group is spoken in Kwangtung and Kwangsi. It is characterized by the preservation of final consonants. It presents a system of eight, nine, or more tones. The distinction of long and short vowels is also a special feature.

8. The Hsiang group is spoken principally in Hunan. The ancient voiced stops are kept as truly voiced consonants, but the finals are usually lost. It often presents a system of six or seven tones.

9. Certain isolated groups in southern Anhwei, some parts in Hunan, and in the northeastern part of Kwangsi have distinctive phonological features.

The Tai languages have four tone categories and each is further divided into two according to whether the initial consonant was originally voiced or voiceless, so that the modern Tai languages have eight or more tones. They can be divided into two main divisions:

1. The Chuang group consists of many dialects spoken in a great part of Kwangsi and in the southern part of Kweichow. The language of Shu Li in northern Hainan Island also belongs to this group but the Li dialects in the

center and the south of the Island seem to be quite different from the ordinary Tai language.

2. The Southwestern group consists of some of the best known Tai languages and lies mostly outside of China. It has four sub-divisions—Ahom, once spoken in Assam; Kamti and Shan spoken in Burma and Yunnan; Siamese and Lao spoken in Thailand and Indo-China; Tai Blanc, Nung, Tho spoken in Indo-China and southwestern Kwangsi.

The Miao-Yao branch of the Indo-China family is monosyllabic like the Chinese and is known to possess tones, but the phonologic system and the relation between the Miao and Yao are not sufficiently known. It is spoken by fairly primitive groups of mountaineers and there is no writing of its own besides the occasional use of Chinese characters.

The Miao group is spoken under various tribal names in the southwestern mountain regions of Hunan, a large part of Kweichow, in the northeastern part of Kwangsi, and in the mountains of Yunnan, Indo-China, and Thailand. The Yao group is spoken under various tribal names in northwestern Kwangtung and in the mountains of Yunnan, Kwangsi, Indo-China, and Thailand.

The Tibeto-Burman group is the most representative in the use of prefixes, whether syllabic or asyllabic, alternations of voiced and voiceless consonants, and the use of suffixes. The word order is as a rule subject-object-verb in contrast to the Chinese and Tai type of subject-verb-object. There are four divisions in this group:

1. The Tibetan group is spoken principally in Tibet and Sikang, and extends into Chinghai and the western part of Szechwan. The earliest record of this group dates from the ninth century, the alphabet being derived from the devanagari form of the Hindu alphabet. It has three main dialects—Balti and Ladak of the western group, Lhasa of the central group, and Khams of the eastern group.

2. Katchin of the Bodo-Naga-Katchin group is spoken along the northwestern border of Yunnan.

3. Speakers of some dialects of the Burmese group may be found in western Yunnan.

4. The Lolo group, with its dialects, is spoken in portions of Yunnan, Sikang, Kweichow, and descends to Indo-China and Thailand. It has an independent

syllabic writing. The Moso is spoken in the northwest of Yunnan and extends to Sikang. It possesses two systems of writing, one hieroglyphic and the other syllabic like the Lolo.

The Mon-Khmer group of the Austro-Asiatic family is spoken by groups along the Yunnan-Burmese border. It has no tones, and makes use of prefixes and infixes for the derivation of words. The stem is generally monosyllabic, the word order is subject-verb-object.

The Altai languages are spoken on the Chinese western and northern frontiers. They consist mainly of Turkish, Mongolian, and the Tungus. The relation of the three groups has not been established with certainty, although phonetic structure, syntax, and vocabulary all show great resemblances. The exclusive use of suffixes either derivative or syntactical is one of the characteristics, so that the stem or root always remains at the beginning of a word. Another special feature is the vocalic harmony. The word order is subject-object-verb. Modifying words are placed before the modified.

The Turkish branch of the Altai languages is spoken in China in Sinkiang and the northwestern part of Mongolia. The eastern dialects are characterized by the wide application of the rules of vocalic harmony and by the existence of only surds in initial and final positions and only voiced consonants in medial positions. The central dialects possess voiced initials and have an indifferent *i* in regard to vocalic harmony. The dialects spoken in northern Sinkiang, Kirghiz, belong to the western group. The branch has several forms of writing including the Runiform, Uigur, Brahmi, Tibetan, etc., but most dialects have adopted the Arabic alphabet.

The Mongolian language is centralized in Mongolia and extends to Central Asia, Siberia, Northeastern provinces, and North China provinces. The use of suffixes and vocalic harmony are observable. The language is divided into Khalkha (Outer Mongolia), Buriat (Siberia, northern Mongolia, and western Heilungkiang), Kalmuck (western Mongolia), eastern group in Chahar, Suiyuan, Jehol, Ningsia, and parts of Northeastern provinces. The Mongols adopted the Uigur alphabet in the 13th century as introduced by the Tibetan Living Buddha Baspa and it is still in use with slight modifications.



The Tungus branch is spoken in eastern Siberia and parts of Heilungkiang and Jehol. The Southern group, including Manchu, Gold, Oroch, Dahur, and Solon, is spoken in the provinces of Heilungkiang and Kirin. Managir and Birar of the Northern group are spoken in Heilungkiang and Siberia. A small group of Manchu speakers are found in Sinkiang, being the descendants of earlier Manchu garrisons. The best known language of this branch is Manchu. The writing was derived in the 16th century from Mongolian with slight modifications.

There are some dead languages of interest to history students in China. One is Tokharian, an Indo-European language which was once spoken in modern Sinkiang. It was written with a kind of Hindu alphabet. Another is Si-hsia, once spoken in modern Kansu. It was written with a kind of character evidently modeled after the Chinese but very complicated. It seems to belong to the Lolo group. The dead language of Khitan is less known but some inscriptions in characters similar to the Si-hsia have been found.

## MONGOLIA AND TIBET

### Mongolia

The great plateau known as Mongolia occupies about 4,000,000 square kilometers in the heart of the Asiatic continent. It lies about 1,500 meters above sea level and is enclosed on all sides by high mountain ranges, with the Gobi Desert located in the center. It has a continental climate, subject to constantly variable extremes of heat and cold. The low humidity, coupled with a scarcity of rainfall, renders agriculture highly impracticable without the aid of irrigation.

The place is inhabited by tribes who originally carried on a nomadic existence in the valleys of the Kerulen River to the north of the Gobi Desert and who later recurrently assaulted the old civilized states of the Far East, the Near East, and Europe. Under Genghis Khan (1162-1227) the Mongols founded a world empire. After the 14th century, the states of the once glorious empire collapsed and the Mongols resolved into three main groups—the Northern Mongols of Outer Mongolia, the Southern Mongols in Inner Mongolia, and Western Mongols in Sinkiang and Chinghai. The warring race was divided by the Manchus in the 17th century into a

number of tribal leagues and banners in accordance with Manchu custom, thus consolidating the Manchu rule. Definite frontiers were assigned to each of the tribal units ruled by a prince of a particular banner.

The present distribution of the Mongol banners is as follows:

#### 1. Mongol Banners in the Four Northeastern Provinces:

(a) The Barga Mongols number about 50,000, occupying the western part of the Hsingan Highland. They have an administration semi-Mongol, semi-Manchu in nature. There are two Solon Banners of Tungusic forest-nomad in origin but now Mongolized, two new Barga Banners and one old Barga Banner of old Mongol stock, one Olot Banner transferred from Sinkiang in the 18th century, a Buriat Banner from Siberia in the 17th century, and an Oranchon Banner of the reindeer-using Tungusic nomad stock. Besides, there is also a group of Daghors around Hailar who, through their relations with the Manchus, used to play an important part in the administration of Barga.

(b) The Daghor and Yeghe Minggan groups also live in Heilungkiang but lie east of the Hsingan. The Daghors are a people of partly Mongol and partly Tungus origin from the Nonni Valley. The Yeghe Minggan are sometimes called the Mannai or Mangnai Olot. They came from Sinkiang and live on the eastern slope of the Hsingan.

(c) The Jerim League is the first of the six leagues of Inner Mongolia and together with Josoto and Joude form what is generally known as the eastern Mongols. They were the first to join the Manchus in the 17th century. At present, 80 per cent of the Jerim Mongols is agricultural. The league is divided into ten banners, including two Gorlos Banners spreading from Changchun to the Sungari River, one Durbet Banner in Heilungkiang, one Jalait Banner in Heilungkiang, and six Khorchin Banners in Liaoning.

(d) Sibe and Suruk Mongols—The Sibe Mongols were originally Mongol troops raised to garrison the Willow Palisade and organized in an eight-banner cadre on the Manchu system. The Suruk Mongols were in charge of the herds from which sacrificial animals were drawn for use at the Manchu Imperial tombs at Mukden. Their lands, now cultivated, lie near Changwu in Liaoning.

(e) The Josoto League lies in southeast Jehol and is agricultural. The league comprises seven banners, including three Karachin Banners whose princes are descended from one of Genghis Khan's daughters, two Tumet Banners from Suiyuan in early 17th century, one Khalkha Banner from Outer Mongolia in the 17th century, and the Shreto Khuri in which a Living Buddha is the secular prince.

(f) The Joude League lies in the northern half of Jehol and is partly agricultural. It has thirteen banners, counting from east to west, two Jarod Banners, one North Khorchin Banner, two Bairin Banners, one Keshikten Banner, one Naiman Banner southwest of Kailu, one Khalkha Left Wing Banner, three Aokhan Banners east and northeast of Chihfeng, and two Ongniot Banners west and northwest of Chihfeng.

#### 2. Mongol Banners in Suiyuan and Chahar:

(a) The Chahar Mongols occupy a large territory in northern Chahar and eastern Suiyuan, partly cultivated. There are eight "military" and four "herdsman" banners. The "herdsman" banners were originally in charge of horses, cows, sheep, and camels for the use of the Manchu emperor. Of the military banners, four—All-Blue, Bordered White, All-White, Bordered Yellow—lie east to west in Chahar, and four—All-Yellow, All-Red, Bordered Red, Bordered Blue—lie east to west in Suiyuan. There are also two Taibis Banners which served as herdsman for the Empress Dowager.

(b) The Silingol League's ten banners form a long, narrow strip north of the Chahar Mongols in northern Chahar. They are, from east to west, two Ujumchin Banners, two Hochi Banners, two Abaga Banners, and two Sunid Banners.

(c) The Kweihua Tumet Banner occupies the modern twin cities of Suiyuan and Kweihua, Suiyuan capital. It has six Sömon with 10,000 people, most of whom have forgotten the Mongol language.

(d) The Ulanhab League in northern Suiyuan is the best grazing land for camels of the Suiyuan-Sinkiang caravan road. The six banners include, from east to west, one Durbet Khukhet Banner, one Khalkha Right Wing Banner, one Mo-Minggan Banner, and three Ulat Banners.

(e) The Ikhchao League occupies the Ordos Grassland in southern Suiyuan and has seven banners in two wings: East Wing, one North, one Center, one South Banner, and West Wing, one North, one Center, one South, and one End South Banner.

#### 3. Mongol Banners in Ningsia (Western Mongols):

(a) The Alanshan Mongols form one banner, the tribal name of which is Hoshot, with their lands lying west of Alanshan Range.

(b) The Edsingol Mongols form a banner around the Edsin-Gol. Their tribal name is Torgot.

#### 4. Mongols in Chinghai (Western Mongols):

The Mongols reached Kokonor (Blue Sea) following the invasion of Tibet by the Western Mongols at the end of the 16th century. The Chinghai Mongols are divided into two leagues with 29 banners. They are the Kokonor East Wing League with 11 Hoshot banners, one Hoit Banner, and one Durbet Banner, and the Kokonor West Wing League with two Chorlos Banners, nine Hoshot Banners, one Khalkha Banner, three Torgot Banners, and one Chagan Nom-on Khan Banner (Prince of the South of the Yellow River Banner).

#### 5. Mongols in Sinkiang (Western Mongols):

Northern Sinkiang was the base from which Mongols invaded Russia, the Near East, and India and where the Western Mongols waged war against Tibet and the Northern Mongols. They occupy mostly the territory between the Altai and the Tienshan Ranges. There are three leagues following tribal groupings, including:

(a) The Unen Susuktu League is entirely composed of Old Torgots with ten banners sandwiched with non-Mongol groups. The banners are four Karashar Torgot Banners, two Kur-Kharaoso (Erin-Khabirakh) Torgot Banners, one banner of Chingho Torgot Banner, and three Koboksari Torgot Banners.

(b) The Bato Setkhitu League has three Central Division Hoshot Banners occupying the Yuiduz Plateau northwest of Karashar.

(c) The Ching Setkhiltu League has ten banners distributed from the Tarbagatai region to the slopes of the Altai. There are two New Torgot

Banners, one Habchak New Hoshot Banner, three West Wing Urianghai Banners, and four East Wing Urianghai Banners. These are the so-called Altai-Urianghai of Turkish origin but Mongolized. The word Urianghai means "forest dwellers," thus tribes of the same name are not necessarily related to each other.

(d) Besides, there is a Chahar group living in the Borotala Valley on the way from Urumchi to Ili. They were moved from Chahar to Sinkiang in the 18th century. Another group are the Orots living in the Ili Valley known as the Six Somon. They are of the central stock of the Western Mongols from which Torgots, Hoshot, etc., derive. Both groups have no princes.

#### 6. The Outer Mongolian Aimaks:

Mongols in Outer Mongolia belong to the group of Northern Mongols. They are divided into four aimaks according to tribal grouping:

(a) Tsetsen Khan Aimak contains 23 banners. It is also known as the Eastern Division of the Khalkha Mongols.

(b) Tushetu Khan Aimak contains 20 banners. It is also known as the Northern Division of the Khalkha Mongols. In this territory stands Uрга.

(c) Sain Noyan Khan Aimak contains 24 banners and is also known as the Central Division of the Khalkha Mongols. In this territory stands Uliassutai.

(d) Jasakto Khan Aimak contains 19 banners. It is also known as the Western Division of the Khalkha Mongols.

7. The Kobdo Special District, also known as Sain Jayagato Aimak, contains 19 banners. The tribes of this district are historically part of the old Western Mongol federation. There are 11 East Wing Durbet Banners, three West Wing Turbet Banners, one East Wing and one West Wing Hoit Banners, one Jakhchin (Border) Banner who are Olots, one Olot Banner, and one Minggat Banner. There are also some Khalkha Mongols in this district, descendants of the garrison who occupied it after the final collapse of the Western Mongol power in the 18th century.

All the tribes within what is now the Ching Stekhitu Aimak under Sinkiang Province were formerly included in the Kobdo District. Kobdo authorities were also charged with the supervision of Urianghai.

No reliable statistics have been completed in regard to the Mongol population, but it has so far shown a tendency to fall off. In the early period of the Ching Dynasty the basic organization of Mongols was the *tso-ling* in charge of 150 families. Recent findings show not a single *tso-ling* controlling over 150 families, very few about 100 families, but generally 20 to 30 families. The decrease in population is mainly due to (a) the prevalence of venereal diseases, (b) the influence of Lamaism (most Mongol males become lamas and take the vow of celibacy), (c) being nomads, their inability to support big families, and (d) high mortality rate and the lack of medical facilities.

The banner is the basic unit of Mongolian political organization, coming either under a league, an aimak, or being independent. The tribal chieftain or khan holds office by hereditary right, while the leaders of leagues are elected. Each banner has a Jassak holding office by hereditary title who is assisted by subordinate officers, often "sealless" peers, and other civil and military assistants.

A Mongolian Autonomous Political Council was established at Peilingmiao in 1934 to direct Mongol activities in Chahar, Suiyuan, Ningsia, and Chinghai under Mongol princes. A re-organization took place in 1936 and a separate Suiyuan Mongolian Autonomous Political Council was established at Suiyuan (now at the End South Banner of the West Wing of the Ikhchao League) to attend exclusively to Mongol affairs in Suiyuan. The Chahar Mongolian Autonomous Political Council under Prince Teh turned puppet to the Japanese in the same year.

Outer Mongolia proclaimed itself a so-called People's Republic which is recognized only by the U.S.S.R. As late as 1936, the U.S.S.R. signed a mutual assistance protocol with the "Mongolian People's Republic." When the Chinese government protested, the Soviet government affirmed that the Sino-Soviet Agreement of 1924, which provides that "The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics recognizes that Outer Mongolia is an integral part of the Republic of China and respects China's sovereignty therein" remained in force and denied that the protocol was intended as a violation thereof.

## Tibet

The Tibetan Plateau is estimated to be more than 5,000 meters above sea level, the valleys more than 3,000 meters in altitude. The entire tableland includes Tibet proper, Sikang, and Chinghai. The latter two are regular provinces of the Chinese Republic while Tibet proper, and Outer Mongolia, form the two only special "territories" within Chinese boundaries.

There is no census in Tibet and consequently any figure on Tibetan population is open to question. The most probable estimate is 750,000 in Tibet proper.

The history of Tibet is full of myths and legends. The Tibetans believe that their ancestors were descended from Chenresi, the compassionate spirit, from which all the spiritual and human rulers came. But modern historians place the Tibetan race in the Mongolian family. Though relations between Tibet and China date from time immemorial, they first came into prominence in the days of the Tang Dynasty. With the Mongol conquest in the 13th century, Tibet was incorporated into the Chinese Empire. The Tibetans declared themselves "independent" from China after the establishment of the Republic. Numerous invasions were carried out by Tibetans on the province of Sikang in previous years and at present Tibetan troops are still occupying the Sikang area west of the Gold Sand River (Yangtze River).

With the establishment of the National Government, relationship between the government and Tibet has been steadily improving. When the 14th Dalai Lama was enthroned at Lhasa early in 1940, General Wu Chung-hsin, chairman of the Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commission of the Executive Yuan, sat side by side with the new Dalai facing south, meeting Tibetan officials. An office of the commission was also established at Lhasa.

The Dalai Lama is the supreme ruler both in civil and religious affairs and under him are the ecclesiastical and lay officials. Under the Dalai Lama are three Silon or chief councillors of state. Under the Silon is the Kashag or grand council, composed of four Kalon or grand councillors of state, of whom three are laymen and one a priest known as the Kashag Lama. The Kashag is the highest organ of administration, executive, legislative, judicial, military,

or external. It carries out orders from the Dalai Lama in consultation with the Silon as to the means of execution. In this way, the Silon have a great deal to say in political matters. Under the Kashag are the Yigtsang or secretariat and the Jickano or accounting department. The former is composed of four ecclesiastical officials, while the latter is made up of four lay officials, called Tsipon, who are heads of all lay officials. There are two magistrates for the city of Lhasa.

The Tungdo or National Assembly is the most important organ in the political system of Tibet. All lay and ecclesiastical officials, as well as the abbots of the three large monasteries have the right to attend the Tungdo. The Chairman must be over 60 years old. When matters of emergency arise in domestic and foreign affairs, the Tungdo is convened to discuss and decide on necessary measures to be taken in dealing with the situation. Its decisions are acted upon by the government.

The local administrative unit in Tibet is the Chung ruled by a Chungpon. In larger districts, two Chungpon can be appointed, one of them lay and the other ecclesiastical. They share the same responsibility.

## OVERSEAS CHINESE

Chinese migration into the South Seas began some 2,000 years ago when Chin Shih Huang Ti made the present Indo-China a part of his empire. Chinese emigrants went in large numbers to the South Sea countries during the Sung Dynasty and Chinese political influence was strongly felt during the reign of the Ming. The Ching Dynasty banned migration to overseas territories. Nevertheless, parties of Chinese emigrants, mostly from Kwangtung and Fukien, moved continuously to foreign countries. They were subject to wholesale massacre in Dutch and Spanish possessions at one time. They were also for years the objects of exploitation in the form of contract labor in many countries. At present they are generally excluded from many countries and subject to discrimination of various kinds and degrees.

According to a recent report issued by the Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission of the Executive Yuan, there are 8,546,374 Chinese living in foreign countries as seen from the following table:



*Distribution of Overseas Chinese*  
(Up to end of June, 1940)

Locality	Number of Overseas Chinese	Year
Asia ...	8,205,098	...
Japan ...	19,801	1937
Formosa ...	59,692	1937
Korea ...	70,290	1937
Thailand ...	2,500,000	...
Annam ...	426,916	1940
Burma ...	193,594	1937
India ...	8,750	1937
British Malaya ...	2,300,353	1940
British North Borneo ...	68,034	1938
Dutch East Indies ...	1,344,809	1937
Philippine Islands ...	110,500	1931
Hongkong ...	923,584	1937
Afghanistan ...	5,000	1940
Turkey ...	7,000	1920
Portuguese Timor ...	3,500	1932
Macao ...	157,175	...
Mecca ...	6,100	1938
Europe ...	62,738	...
United Kingdom ...	8,000	1932
France ...	17,000	1931
Germany ...	1,800	1937
U. S. S. R. ...	29,620	1940
Portugal ...	1,200	1929
Denmark ...	900	1932
Belgium ...	550	1932
Czechoslovakia ...	250	1932
Switzerland ...	41	1930
Italy ...	923	1940
Poland ...	102	1937
Austria ...	98	1929
Luxemburg ...	52	1920
Hungary ...	49	1929
Yugoslavia ...	37	1929
Spain ...	44	1940
Estonia ...	3	1928
Latavia ...	2	1928
Lithuania ...	7	1928
Finland ...	11	1928
Norway ...	9	1937
Bulgaria ...	7	1932
Rumania ...	16	1940
Netherlands ...	2,017	1937

*Distribution of Overseas Chinese*  
(Up to end of June, 1940.)

Locality	Number of Overseas Chinese	Year
North America ...	197,354	...
U. S. A. ...	74,954	1930
Canada ...	46,000	1937
Mexico ...	25,000	1920-21
Central America ...	10,000	1940
West Indies ...	41,400	1932-38
South America ...	15,297	...
Peru ...	7,030	1939
Chile ...	503	1937
Brazil ...	820	1931
Argentina ...	600	1930
Colombia ...	418	1937
Ecuador ...	800	1939
Venezuela ...	2,826	1929
Guiana ...	2,300	1930
Africa ...	9,064	...
Egypt ...	64	1933
South Africa ...	4,000	1937
Islands in Indian Ocean ...	5,000	1939
Oceania ...	56,823	...
Australia ...	15,500	1931
New Zealand ...	3,323	1939
Hawaiian Islands ...	27,600	1930
Fiji Islands ...	2,000	1930
Samoa Islands ...	3,400	1929
Tahiti ...	5,000	1930
GRAND TOTAL ...	8,546,374	

Chinese in foreign lands have 3,724 organizations, of which 823 are permanent professional organizations, 1,978 permanent social organizations, 29 registered patriotic societies, and 892 unregistered patriotic societies, according to an investigation made at the end of March, 1941. Most of them are local guilds organized by people from the same clan or from the same native district.

Contributions from overseas Chinese have played an important part in war relief during the early war years. The Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission alone received NC\$5,300,774, HK\$172,177, US\$61,985, £18,235, Fr.1,397,848, Guilders 14,317 and

\$3,158 Canadian currency from July, 1937, to December, 1941. Most of the contributions were sent to the Ministry of Finance directly instead of going through the commission. It was estimated that by the end of 1940, a total of \$300,000,000 had been received from the overseas Chinese as their contribution towards the war. The inflow of relief money from China's loyal sons abroad before the outbreak of the Pacific War was estimated at \$70,000,000 a month.

A number of investments were also made by overseas Chinese in the form of capital, machinery, and personnel to help reconstruction in Free China. A \$100,000,000-Overseas Chinese Industrial Corporation was proposed by the National

Government, while a number of private companies have been organized by overseas Chinese to develop agriculture, industry, mining, and trading in the Southwest.

Overseas remittances also play an important part in the China's national receipts and expenditures. In the four war years ended in 1940, no less than \$2,000,000,000 had been sent by the overseas Chinese to their families in China. More than \$1,000,000,000 came before the outbreak of the Pacific War.

In June, 1940, there were 3,231 schools for overseas children in foreign countries, including 117 middle schools, eight normal schools, four vocational schools, 2,477 primary schools, and 93 continuation schools. Of them, 445 were registered with the National Government. To help these institutions, the Government paid \$122,734 in 1937 as subsidy to 154 schools, \$61,367 to 154 schools in 1938 (half year), \$99,984 to 123 schools in 1939, \$75,050 to 128 schools in 1940, \$120,000 to 165 schools in 1941, besides another \$70,000 for the establishment of four more schools.

After the outbreak of the Pacific War, an appropriation of \$2,000,000

was made to aid overseas students and teachers. Three overseas Chinese middle schools were established in Yunnan and Kwangtung, 12 overseas schools were moved to Free China, and a number of special classes were maintained to accommodate home-coming overseas students.

Efforts were also made to help stricken overseas Chinese. Over 97 per cent of the eight million odd overseas Chinese are now living in areas occupied by the three Axis powers. A number of them evacuated to China or friendly nations, but the great majority remained behind. Of those who returned to China more than 1,000,000 persons were helped by the Government. The National Government allotted \$100,000,000 for overseas Chinese relief and up to the end of August, 1942, actually spent \$12,000,000 in Yunnan, \$10,000,000 in Kwangtung, \$5,000,000 in Fukien, \$5,000,000 in Kwangsi, \$1,000,000 in Kweichow for direct relief and \$30,000,000 each in Fukien and Kwangtung as loans to the families of overseas Chinese who cannot return to China. Besides, the provincial governments also granted huge sums to help the home-coming people. For those living abroad, \$500,000 was sent to India and Fr.529,800 to France.

## CHAPTER II

### THE KUOMINTANG

#### A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE KUOMINTANG

The Kuomintang has been shaping and is shaping China's destiny. It overthrew the Manchu regime in 1911, unified the country in 1926-1928, and since 1937 has been leading the nation in resistance against Japanese aggression. Underlying these three historic events there has been a continuity of purpose and strength under the direction of the Kuomintang, guided first by Dr. Sun Yat-sen and, since the latter's death in 1925, by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek.

The Kuomintang had its genesis about half a century ago, when Dr. Sun Yat-sen, founded the *Hsing Chung Hui* (Regenerate China Society) in Macao with a few dozen sympathizers.

Manifestoes were couched in cautious, unprovocative language, but the real aim of the Society was the overthrow of the Manchu rule and the restoration of the Chinese nation. Branch societies were established in Hongkong, Japan, Honolulu, and the United States. Membership increased by 1900 when there had been incorporated into it other anti-Manchu societies along the Yangtze River and in three southern provinces in China.

In August 1905 was born in Tokyo the *Chung Kuo Tung Meng Hui* (China Brotherhood Society). This new organ represented the second phase in the development of the Kuomintang. It had a higher vision than the overthrow of the Manchu Dynasty—the building of a new nation along lines of broad nationalism and republicanism. In Dr. Sun's mind there had dawned his own version of "government of the people, for the people and by the people." His principles of nationalism, people's rights and people's livelihood, which present-day China has adopted as the political creed, began to take shape.

In a manifesto issued that year, the *Tung Meng Hui* added two new cardinal points to its policy. They were the establishment of a republic and the equalization of land ownership.

Imbued with the spirit of the leader, the members of the *Tung Meng Hui*

spread over almost all the provinces of China as well as in Japan, Europe, North and South America and the South Seas. By clandestine means revolutionary organs were established in various parts of China. People of all sorts and conditions rallied to the support of the revolutionary cause.

In 1895 the first attempt at an uprising was made in Canton by Dr. Sun Yat-sen and his confrères. It was followed by many futile rebellions in various parts of the country. The storming of the Viceroy's Yamen in Wuchang by armed revolutionaries on October 10, 1911, led to the success of the Revolution, resulting in the abdication of the last Manchu emperor and in the establishment of the Chinese Republic. Dr. Sun Yat-sen served as President of the Republican Provisional Government for a brief period and then resigned.

In 1912, The *Tung Men Hui* was re-organized into the *Kuo Min Tang* which was to function as an ordinary political party.

The young Republic then entered upon a period of internal strife, during which time Dr. Sun and the loyal members of his Party were constantly combating the forces deterrent to the interests of the Revolution. While engaged in the anti-Yuan Shih-kai movement, Dr. Sun organized the *Chung Hua Ke Min Tang* (Chinese Revolutionary Party) for the purpose of reviving the pre-1911 spirit of the *Tung Meng Hui*.

After the death of Yuan Shih-kai in 1916, the Peking Government remained in the hands of the Northern military clique. Dr. Sun led his faithful followers to South China in defense of the Provisional Constitution which Tuan Chi-jui had violated. This fight lasted six years.

In 1919, Dr. Sun re-organized his Party into the Kuomintang (of which the full title is *Chung Kuo Kuomintang*, the Chinese National Party) for the purpose of increasing its membership and consolidating its power. Four years later, a more thorough re-organization was effected.



The First Party National Congress after re-organization, held in Canton in 1924, was the turning point in the history of the Kuomintang. More fully than on any previous occasion the rejuvenated Party realized its responsibility for the salvation of the nation. It re-affirmed Dr. Sun's Three People's Principles as the Party platform. It adopted a definite party policy in reference to foreign and internal relations. The most salient points embodied therein were: externally, the abrogation of all unequal treaties, the withdrawal of foreign loans insofar as not to impair China's political and industrial interests; internally, the demarcation of the central and local administrative powers on an equitable basis, the adoption of the *hsien* as the unit of local self-government, the introduction of universal suffrage, the taking of a census of the population, the improvement of rural organization and labor conditions, etc.

To unify the country under the Kuomintang standard, a Northern Expedition was planned. A military academy was established at Whampao, near Canton, to train a cadre as the nucleus of a new army indoctrinated with Dr. Sun's principles. In 1926-1928 this new army, which set out from Canton under the command of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, succeeded in crushing warlordism and unifying the country. The National Government, originally in Canton, was then moved to Nanking, the new Capital.

The teachings of Dr. Sun Yat-sen form the ideological basis of the Kuomintang rule in China. His *San Min Chu I* or the Three People's Principles of nationalism, people's rights and people's livelihood, constitute the highest guiding principles in China. The new China he conceived is free, independent and equal in its relations with other nations of the world, wherein the people will have a constitutional form of government. There will also be an equitable distribution of wealth through the enforcement of three policies, the equalization of land ownership, the development of state capital, and the control of private capital.

Dr. Sun split sovereignty into two portions, with the political powers to be exercised by the people and the governing powers by the government. He believed in direct democracy and wanted the people to have the rights of recall, initiative and referendum in addition to that of election. The government, he said, should be entrusted with five

powers, namely, executive, legislative, judicial, examination, and control. The first three are too familiar to need any explanation. The last two are Dr. Sun's own innovations based on China's traditional practices. The power of examination deals with the selection of officials through competitive contests with a view to the creation of an efficient civil service system, while the power of control pertains to the impeachment of government officials.

Dr. Sun divided the course of national reconstruction into three periods of military operations, political tutelage and constitutional government. During the first period everything should be subordinated to military needs. The second period begins in any province when peace and order are completely restored. Its component counties must each take a detailed census, survey all land, set up an efficient self-defense force and build all principal roads. Before a county is qualified for self-government, its people must be given training in the exercise of their four political rights, namely, election, recall, initiative and referendum. When all the counties in any province have been thus prepared, that province advances on into the period of constitutionalism and a representative assembly must be organized. Finally, when more than half of the provinces in the country have advanced into the same stage, a People's Congress shall be convened to adopt and promulgate a constitution. This will be followed by the formation of a new National Government responsible to the People's Congress instead of to the Party National Congress, as is the case at present.

The procedure thus laid down by Dr. Sun has been followed by the National Government since it came into power in 1927-1928. The period of military operations came to an end in 1928 and the following year the period of political tutelage officially began, to last for six years. A provisional constitution was promulgated in May, 1931. In 1934 work was begun on a draft constitution which draft was promulgated by the National Government on May 5, 1936, to be adopted by a People's Congress scheduled to meet on November 12, 1937. The Japanese invasion has delayed the realization of the program.

The period from its coming into power in 1927-1928 to the outbreak of the Chinese-Japanese war ten years later, found the Kuomintang and the National Government busy tackling numerous

problems. A new spirit had taken possession of the entire nation. In fact, China in the few years prior to the outbreak of the war was forging ahead too much to suit Japanese militarists. The latter could wait no longer to see China succeed in her nation-building program. So in 1937 they launched the bitterest war ever fought on the Asiatic continent. The Kuomintang rose to the crisis by leading China's masses in the defense of their homes and their birthright.

In April, 1938, the Extraordinary Party National Congress was held.

The most concrete achievement of the extraordinary session was the adoption of the *Program of Armed Resistance and National Reconstruction*.\* Important points in this program are as follows:

Dr. Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary principles and his other teachings are declared to be the supreme authority, regulating all wartime activities and the work of national reconstruction.

China is prepared to ally herself with all states and nations that sympathize with her cause and to wage a common struggle for peace and justice; prepared to safeguard and strengthen the machinery of peace as well as all treaties and conventions that have the maintenance of peace as their ultimate object; prepared to ally herself with all forces that are opposed to Japanese imperialism in order to check Japanese aggression and to safeguard peace in the Far East, and prepared to improve still further the existing friendly relations with other powers in order to gain more sympathy for the cause.

A People's Political Council shall be created in order to unify the national strength, to utilize the best minds of the nation and to facilitate the formulation and execution of national policies.

The *hsien* shall be taken as the fundamental unit of local self-government, which shall be installed as soon as possible in preparation for the eventual promulgation of a constitution.

Economic reconstruction shall be stressed, village economy emphasized, cooperative enterprises

encouraged, mining projects undertaken, wartime taxes levied, banking business controlled, facilities of communications and transportation improved, speculation and hoarding of commodities prohibited.

Freedom of speech, press and assembly shall be guaranteed to the people provided they do not contravene Dr. Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary principles or the provisions of the law.

All bogus political organizations which Japan has created in consequence of her military occupation of Chinese territory and all their actions are repudiated and declared null and void.

Also, in accordance with the program, a People's Political Council\*\* was organized in the summer of 1938.

Another item in the *Program of Armed Resistance and National Reconstruction* which has been enforced is the new county (*hsien*) system,\*\* which aims to make the county an autonomous unit.

#### PARTY NATIONAL CONGRESSES AND C.E.C. PLENARY SESSIONS

As a rule the National Congress meets once every two years. The first Congress was held in 1924, the second in 1926, the third in 1929, the fourth in 1931 and the fifth in 1935. An Extraordinary National Congress was convened in Hankow in 1938, the year after the outbreak of the war with Japan. When the National Congress is in recess, the highest organs are the Central Executive Committee and the Central Supervisory Committee. The two committees functioning at present were elected by the fifth National Congress. Since then the war and other problems have stood in the way of electing another National Congress.

The existing Central Executive Committee has held, up to the end of 1942, altogether ten plenary sessions.

1. The First Plenary Session, held in December, 1935, re-organized the three committees on organization, publicity and mass movement into the Board of Organization, the Board of Publicity, and the Board of People's Training.

2. The Second Plenary Session, held in July, 1936, decided upon the abolition

\* See Section "Important Kuomintang Documents."

\*\* See Chapter III "Government Structure."

of the Southwestern Executive Organ of the Kuomintang and the Southwestern Political Council, both of which were then functioning in Canton. Through this decision the power of the Kuomintang was concentrated and the foundation of the Party solidified.

3. The Third Plenary Session, held in February, 1937, decided upon the abolition of the chairman system and the restoration of the system of standing committee whose members are to be chosen from the Central Executive Committee.

4. The Fourth Plenary Session, held in April, 1938, decided that Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek should serve concurrently as leader of the *San Min Chu I* Youth Corps, and also laid down the principles governing the organization of the People's Political Council.

5. The Fifth Plenary Session, held in January, 1939, promulgated among other things the *Citizen's Pact for Resistance to Japan*, and laid down the principles for a Spiritual Mobilization Movement. It also decided to create the Supreme National Defense Council, which since February, 1939, has been placed in charge of the direction and supervision of all organs in the Kuomintang Central Executive Committee, the five Yuan in the National Government, and the various boards and departments in the National Military Council.

6. The Sixth Plenary Session, held in November, 1939, decided to convene the People's Congress on November 12, 1940, for the purpose of adopting and promulgating a permanent constitution for the country. (The Congress was later postponed because of communication and other wartime difficulties.) The same session appointed Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek president of the Executive Yuan.

7. The Seventh Plenary Session, held in July, 1940, decided to create a Central Planning Board and a Party and Political Work Perscrutation Committee under the Supreme National Defense Council to co-ordinate and integrate all government activities in all three stages, of planning, execution and perscrutation.

8. The Eighth Plenary Session, held in March, 1941, decided on a Three-Year Reconstruction Plan to be enforced as from 1942. It also resolved to divide the governmental budgets into two major systems, namely, national and local; to re-organize the land tax system by authorizing the National Government

to take over its collection from the local authorities; and to set up a Ministry of Food to control the nations' food supplies.

9. The Ninth Plenary Session, held in December, 1941, one week after the outbreak of the Pacific War, decided to intensify the general mobilization of the people; to create a Land Administration in the Executive Yuan to effect Dr. Sun's teachings on equalization of landownership. It also resolved to give emergency powers to Generalissimo Chiang and to instruct the C.E.C.'s Standing Committee to revise all laws and regulations and to adopt all practical measures under the leadership and upon the decision of Generalissimo Chiang, with a view to hastening the completion of China's dual program of armed resistance and national reconstruction and of expediting the re-establishment of world peace in joint effort with all the friendly nations who have become China's comrades-at-arms.

10. The Tenth Plenary Session was held in November, 1942. Among its important resolutions are the following:

1. Strengthening of the nation's finances.
2. Improvement of the conscription system.
3. Inauguration of a voluntary labor service for the purpose of increasing production.
4. Transfer of the Ministry of Justice from the Judicial Yuan to the Executive Yuan.
5. Measures for the enforcement of the commodity price control.
6. Improvement of the treatment of soldiers and their dependants.
7. Readjustment of school life on a military basis, establishment of more technical schools, and emphasis on education among the border people and overseas Chinese.
8. Strengthening of the control system.
9. Relief of the drought famine in Honan.
10. Determination of principles in social insurance legislation.
11. Determination of detailed measures for child welfare.
12. Increase of relief to war-stricken overseas Chinese.

13. Adoption of measures to encourage industrial production.
14. Increase of relief to refugee children.
15. Adoption of measures to encourage investment by overseas Chinese.
16. Convocation of a national production conference.
17. Continuation of the Party's policy of tolerance to the Chinese Communist Party.\*

#### CHRONOLOGY OF THE KUOMINTANG

The history of the Kuomintang may be divided into five periods.

##### I. The *Hsin Chung Hui* (Regenerate China Society) Period:

1892.—Dr. Sun formed the first *Hsin Chung Hui* in Macao.

1893. Dr. Sun was kidnapped and held in the Manchu Legation in London.

1894.—*Hsin Chung Hui* was formed in Honolulu.

1895.—*Hsin Chung Hui* was formed in Hongkong and the United States. In September Dr. Sun engendered the first revolutionary uprising in Canton. It failed and Dr. Sun began his life of exile, first going to Japan and later to America.

1898.—Dr. Sun returned to Japan. He sent agents to contact secret societies along the Yangtze and in the southern provinces of Kwangtung, Kwangsi, and Fukien.

1900.—Dr. Sun organized two revolts in Kwangtung, one in Waichow and the other in Canton.

1902.—Revolutionary revolt in Canton.

1904.—Revolutionary revolt at Changsha.

##### II. The *Tung Men Hui* (China Brotherhood Society) Period:

1905.—That spring Dr. Sun went to Europe, meeting Chinese revolutionaries in Brussels, Paris, and Berlin. In the summer he was in Japan lecturing on the Three People's Principles and the Quintuple-Power Constitution. On August 20, under Dr. Sun's leadership, the *Tung Men Hui* was formed in Tokyo, absorbing the *Hsin Chung Hui* and numerous secret societies, including the *San Ho Hui* (Three Harmony Society) and the *Ko Lao Hui* (Society of Brothers and Elders), two groups having large

followings in the lower social strata in China.

1905-1911.—No less than 13 abortive revolts organized by the *Tung Men Hui* were staged in various parts of China. On March 12, occurred the most daring revolt in Canton. On October 10, the Wuhan Revolution took place.

1912.—On January 1, Dr. Sun assumed the post of provisional president of the Republic of China in Nanking.

##### III. The *Kuo Min Tang* Period:

1912.—Sung Chiao-jen, Dr. Sun's revolutionary associate, formed the Kuomintang by enlarging the scope of the *Tung Men Hui* to include members of four other parties. Many *Tung Men Hui* members who were opposed to the merger, seceded and formed a *Tung Men Hui* club in Shanghai to retain the revolutionary character of the organization.

1913.—On March 20, Sung Chiao-jen was assassinated by Yuan Shih-kai's agents in Shanghai. The Second Revolution, led by *Tung Men Hui* revolutionaries against Yuan Shih-kai, took place and failed.

##### IV. The *Chung Hua Ke Min Tang* (Chinese Revolutionary Party) Period:

1914.—On March 6, Dr. Sun re-organized the *Kuo Min Tang* into the *Chung Hua Ke Min Tang* in Tokyo with himself as Tsungli, or president of the Party.

1915-1916.—When Yuan Shih-kai made himself emperor, Dr. Sun organized widespread revolts against him.

1917.—Dr. Sun became generalissimo of a military government in Canton in opposition to the northern government.

##### V. The *Chung Kuo Kuo Min Tang* (Chinese National Party) Period:

1919.—In October, Dr. Sun changed the name of the Party from *Chung Hua Ke Min Tang* into *Chung Kuo Kuomintang*.

1922.—Chen Chiung-ming revolted in Canton.

1924.—The *Chung Kuo Kuomintang* was re-organized. Chinese communists were allowed to join the Kuomintang. The same year the First National Congress of the Kuomintang was held in Canton.

1925.—On March 12, Dr. Sun died in Peking where he had gone in October the previous year to recuperate his health and to bring about unification of the country. The same year the

\* For details see Section "Kuomintang's Relation with other Parties," p. 49.



National Government was established in Canton.

1926.—On July 9, Chiang Kai-shek was appointed commander-in-chief of the Revolutionary Forces, and launched the Northern Expedition. The Second Party National Congress was held.

1927.—In April, Nanking was made the national capital of China. A party purge was enforced.

1928.—The National Government was removed to Nanking.

1929.—The Third Party National Congress was held in Nanking. The period of military operations ended and the period of political tutelage began.

1931.—A People's Convention was held in Nanking. It adopted the *Provisional Constitution*. (The Japanese attack on Mukden took place on September 18.) The Fourth Party National Congress was held the same year.

1935.—The Fifth Party National Congress was held.

1936.—The draft *Permanent Constitution* was promulgated.

1937.—The Sino-Japanese war began.

1938.—In April, an extraordinary Party National Congress was convened in Hankow. Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek was elected Tsungtsai, or director-general, of the party. The Program of Armed Resistance and National Reconstruction was adopted. The *San Min Chu I* Youth Corps was organized. The People's Political Council was formed.

#### ORGANIZATION OF THE KUOMINTANG

The existing *General Regulations of the Kuomintang* were first adopted by the First Party National Congress in January, 1924, and have since been revised several times. In their present form, the *General Regulations* comprise 13 chapters with 89 articles. The preamble of the *General Regulations* reads as follows: "In order to hasten the realization of the *San Min Chu I* and the institution of the Quintuple-Power Constitution, the First National Congress of the Kuomintang formulated for itself the following *General Regulations*."

**MEMBERSHIP:** Anyone who is willing to accept the platform of the party, to carry out its resolutions, to observe its discipline and to fulfill the duties and obligations imposed by the Party, may, upon his or her application for membership being accepted, become a member of the Party. A member has the right to

express his opinion, to vote, to elect and to be elected.

**ORGANIZATION:** The Kuomintang organization has five vertical grades, namely, the National Congress, the provincial congress, the *hsien* (county) congress, the *chu* (district) congress or *chu* members' general meeting, and the sub-*chu* members' general meeting. During recess, their executive committees are organs of authority. Each organ of authority must take orders from the higher organ and carry out its resolutions. The Central Executive Committee (of the National Congress) may establish a number of boards to carry out ordinary and extraordinary affairs of the Party. The functions and organizations of these boards are to be decided by the Central Executive Committee, which also has the power to decide on the organization of all grades of Party offices below the provincial Party office.

**SPECIAL LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS:** Any administrative area not yet made a province, such as Mongolia and Tibet, shall have a party organization with the same status as a provincial Party organ.

The Party organ of a special municipality, like the provincial Party organ, is subject to the direction and supervision of the highest organ of authority. The same status is to be accorded to a Party head-organ abroad while a branch organ abroad is equivalent to a *hsien* Party organ.

**TERM OF OFFICE:** The term of a delegate ends with the adjourning of the National Congress, after making reports to their respective Party organs. Members of the Central Executive and Supervisory Committees hold offices for two years. Members of the provincial executive and supervisory committees, the *hsien* executive and supervisory committees, and the district executive and supervisory committees, hold offices for one year. Members of the sub-district executive committee hold office for six months.

**DISCIPLINE:** All members of the Party must strictly observe the following rules of discipline: (1) to obey the regulations and principles of the Party; (2) to allow free discussions on any problem concerning the Party, but a resolution once passed or adopted must be absolutely obeyed; (3) to keep Party secrets; (4) to permit no attack on fellow members or Party organs before outsiders; (5) not to join any other political party; (6) not to organize cliques or factions.

Anyone violating the above rules is liable to receive the following punishment: (1) warning; (2) suspension of membership privileges for a certain period of time; (3) temporary suspension of membership; or (4) expulsion from the Party.

In case a whole Party organ violates the rules of discipline, it receives the following punishment: (1) all Party members may be registered anew and the evil elements expelled; or (2) complete dissolution.

**THE TSUNGLI:** The Party elected Dr. Sun Yat-sen, author of the *San Min Chu I* and the Quintuple-Power Constitution, as *Tsungli*, whose orders for the propagation of the *San Min Chu I* should be obeyed by all Party members. The *Tsungli* shall preside over the Party National Congress and the Central Executive Committee sessions; he shall have veto power on resolutions of the Party National Congress and final decision on resolutions of the Central Executive Committee. (Dr. Sun died on March 12, 1925. At the Second Party National Congress, the Kuomintang accepted his last testament and pledged to carry it out, and also decreed that the above provision in the *General Regulations* be preserved as an everlasting memory of Dr. Sun by the Party.)

**FATHER OF THE CHINESE REPUBLIC:** At its 143rd meeting on March 21, 1940, the Standing Committee of the Fifth Central Executive Committee resolved that Dr. Sun Yat-sen be henceforth known as "Father of the Chinese Republic." Within the Party, however, he may continue to be known as *Tsungli*.

**WEEKLY MEMORIAL SERVICE:** Since Dr. Sun Yat-sen's death every Monday morning one hour between nine and twelve o'clock is set aside for the weekly memorial service in all Party offices, government organs, and military posts in China, presided over by the highest official thereof. The service includes the singing of China's national anthem, which is also the Kuomintang song, three bows before the national and party colors and Dr. Sun's portrait, the reading of Dr. Sun's will by the chairman and by the audience, the observance of three minutes' silence, the recitation of Dr. Sun's teachings or the rendering of work reports and the recitation of the dicta for Party members.

**DR. SUN YAT-SEN'S WILL:** "For forty years I have devoted myself to the cause of the people's revolution with

but one end in view, the elevation of China to a position of freedom and equality in the family of nations. My experiences during these forty years have firmly convinced me that to attain this goal we must bring about a thorough awakening of our own people and ally ourselves in a common struggle with those peoples of the world who treat us on the basis of equality.

"The work of the Revolution is not yet accomplished. Let all our comrades follow my *Plans for National Reconstruction, Fundamentals of National Reconstruction, Three People's Principles* and the Manifesto issued by the First National Congress of our Party, and strive on earnestly for their consummation. Above all, our recent declarations in favor of the convocation of a National Convention and the abolition of unequal treaties should be carried into effect with the least possible delay. This is my heartfelt charge to you.—(Signed SUN WEN, March 11, 1925. Written on February 20, 1925.)"

**Dicta for Kuomintang Members:** At the Fifth Party National Congress in November, 1935, the following twelve rules were adopted for observance by all Kuomintang members:

1. Loyalty and courage are the basis of patriotism.
2. Filial devotion is the basis of family discipline.
3. Goodwill and kindness are the basis of harmony among fellow-beings.
4. Faithfulness and uprightness are the basis of a useful career.
5. Peaceableness is the basis of smoothness in man's social relationships.
6. Courtesy is the basis of proper administration.
7. Obedience is the basis of a high sense of responsibility.
8. Diligence and thrift are the basis of efficient service.
9. Orderliness and cleanliness are the basis of sound health.
10. Helpfulness is the basis of happiness.
11. Knowledge is the basis of usefulness to mankind.
12. Perseverance is the basis of achievement.

Following the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war, the Fifth Central Execu-

tive Committee, at its Fifth Plenary Session, held in January, 1939, adopted seven more rules for all Kuomintang members to observe during the period of national emergency. The seven rules are:

1. Strictly adhere to all laws promulgated by the Government before and since the war began, and observe Party discipline.

2. Precede the people in facing risks and follow the people in enjoying leisure.

3. Bury all intra-party and ultra-party differences of old, be united in spirit and in action, and share fortunes and reverses together.

4. Set an example to the people by being the first to respond to all wartime calls for service and for contributions.

5. Absolutely obey orders of the Party organ and the military commanders in each locality.

6. Strengthen the organization in all grades of Party organs and instill military discipline into them.

7. Under all circumstances keep military secrets and assist the local authorities in the maintenance of peace and order.

**THE TSUNGTSAI:** Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek was elected *Tsungtsai* of the Kuomintang at the Extraordinary Party National Congress in April, 1938, to exercise all powers previously exercised by the *Tsungli*.

**ORGANS OF AUTHORITY:** The highest organ of authority of the Party is the National Congress which meets once every two years. An extraordinary session may be convened whenever the Central Executive Committee should deem it necessary or more than half of the provincial Party organs and other organs of an equivalent status should so petition. Under unavoidable circumstances, the Central Executive Committee may postpone the ordinary National Congress but the postponement must not exceed more than one year. The provincial Party congress meets once a year, the *hsien* (county) Party congress once every six months, the *chu* (district) Party congress once every two months, and the *sub-chu* (sub-district) Party congress once every two weeks. Party organs of various grades each have an executive committee and a supervisory committee vested with varying duties and functions.

The National Congress is vested with the following powers:

(1) To accept and adopt reports of the Central Executive Committee and of the various departments in the central Party organ;

(2) To revise the political platform and regulations of the Party;

(3) To decide on policies and measures on current problems;

(4) To elect full and reserve members of the Central Executive Committee and the Central Supervisory Committee.

The Central Executive Committee: The C. E. C. is charged with the following duties:

(1) To carry out the resolutions of the Party National Congress;

(2) To organize and direct local Party organs;

(3) To organize various central departments of the Party;

(4) To manage Party expenses and finance.

The Central Executive Committee is competent to decide on any matter in regard to Party and government affairs, subject only to revision by the National Congress. It elects the chairman of the National Government, presidents and vice-presidents of the Executive, Legislative, Judicial, Examination and Control Yuan, who are all responsible to it pending the promulgation of a permanent constitution.

The Central Executive Committee has the obligation to carry out the resolutions of the Central Supervisory Committee but when it should deem it necessary, it may ask the Central Supervisory Committee to reconsider its resolution or resolutions. The Central Executive Committee meets at least once every six months.

Members of the Central Executive Committee elect from among themselves nine to fifteen members to constitute a Standing Committee, which is responsible to the Central Executive Committee and acts on behalf of the Central Executive Committee during the latter's recess. The *Tsungtsai* of the Party presides over meetings of the Standing Committee. The Central Executive Committee has a secretariat, headed by one secretary-general and one deputy secretary-general, who are appointed by the Central Executive Committee to carry out orders of the *Tsungtsai*, resolutions of the Central Executive Committee and its Standing Committee, and to administer other Party affairs.

The Central Supervisory Committee: The C.S.C. is charged with the following duties:

(1) To decide on penalties for lower Party organs or Party members violating the discipline of the Party;

(2) To examine the receipts and expenditures of the Central Executive Committee;

(3) To review the progress of Party affairs, to issue orders to the lower Party organs for the examination of Party and financial affairs;

(4) To review the administrative measures and accomplishments of the National Government in the light of the Party's platform and policies. The Central Supervisory Committee during its recess shall elect five men from among its members to form a standing committee. The Central Supervisory Committee meets at least once every six months. It has its own secretariat.

Under the Central Executive Committee are the following boards and committees:

1. The Central Secretariat.
2. The Board of Organization, which takes charge of the organization of party offices of various grades and the training of Party members.
3. The Board of Information (now known as Ministry of Information), which formulates publicity policies and programs and directs all publicity organs.
4. The Board of Overseas Affairs, which takes charge of the organization of Party offices of various grades overseas, the training of overseas Party members and overseas publicity.
5. Party Affairs Committee, which examines and designs Party affairs and enforces instructions of the *Tsungtsai* and resolutions of the Central Executive Committee's Standing Committee. With the secretary-general of the Central Executive Committee as its chairman, the Party Affairs Committee coordinates the work of various boards and units under the Central Executive Committee. The Party Affairs Committee has from fourteen to twenty members, and all ministers and vice-ministers of the various boards and the deputy

secretary-general of the Central Executive Committee are members ex-officio.

6. The Central Training Committee has the *Tsungtsai* as chairman. It takes charge of the training of Party workers of the middle and lower ranks, and of public functionaries and teachers in all political, military, economic and educational organs of the country. In this type of training, special emphasis is laid on "thought training." The largest single training unit run by the Central Training Committee is the Central Training Corps.
7. Party History Compilation and Editing Committee.
8. The Party Finance Committee.
9. Pension Committee.
10. Revolutionary Loans Investigation Committee.
11. Revolutionary Merit Examination Committee.
12. Overseas Chinese Contributions Custody Committee.
13. The Party Bureau of Investigation and Statistics, which is attached to the secretariat of the Central Executive Committee to compile statistics and to carry out investigations of cases involving Party discipline.
14. *San Min Chu I* Youth Corps: The corps was founded in June, 1938, with Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek as leader. Its chief objective is to organize and train Chinese youth to be exponents of *San Min Chu I*, defenders of the country and rejuvenators of the nation.
15. The Political Committee (also known as the Central Political Council): This committee is composed of a chairman and from nineteen to twenty-five members selected by the Central Executive Committee from among its own members and members of the Central Supervisory Committee. This committee constitutes the highest organ of political direction and is responsible to the Central Executive Committee and reports its decisions to the Central Executive Committee's



Standing Committee. Members of the standing committees of both the Central Executive Committee and the Central Supervisory Committee, chairman of the National Government, presidents and vice-presidents of the five Yuan (Executive, Legislative, Judicial, Examination, and Control), and chairman of the National Military Council should attend meetings of the Political Committee. Whenever necessary, the chairman of the Political Committee may notify the chairmen of various technical committees under the Political Committee and the heads of various ministries and commissions under the National Government to be present at its meetings. The Political Committee has a secretariat, headed by a secretary-general and a deputy secretary-general. (Since February, 1939, the functions of the Political Committee have been taken over by the Supreme National Defense Council.)

#### 16. The Central Reconstruction Funds Examination Committee.

##### Three Party Boards

The Board of Organization is headed by minister and two vice-ministers. It comprises the following units:

1. Ordinary Party Affairs Department.
2. Border Party Affairs Department.
3. Army Party Affairs Department.
4. Party Members' Training Department.
5. Party Membership Registration Department.
6. General Affairs Department.

The Board of Information (now known as Ministry of Information) is headed by a minister and two vice-ministers. It comprises the following units and subsidiary organs:

1. Ordinary Publicity Department.
2. International Publicity Department.
3. Arts Publicity Department.
4. Publications Department.
5. Press Department.

6. General Affairs Department.
7. The Central Broadcasting Administration.
8. The Central Cultural Movement Committee.
9. The Central Movie Studio.
10. The Experimental Theatre.
11. The Chinese Cultural Service.
12. The Central Weekly.
13. The Central News Agency.
14. The Central Daily News and other party papers.
15. Books and Periodicals Supply Stations.

The Board of Overseas Affairs is headed by a minister and two vice-ministers. It has the following units:

1. The First Department which takes charge of secretarial, business affairs and statistical work.
2. The Second Department which takes charge of direction, training and registration.
3. The Third Department which takes charge of publicity, editing and social service.

#### SAN MIN CHU I YOUTH CORPS

The *San Min Chu I* Youth Corps was organized in July, 1938, in accordance with a resolution adopted at the Extraordinary National Congress of the Kuomintang in April, 1938. Considering the establishment of the Corps as "a matter of great importance on which will depend the future of the country," Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, Leader of the Corps, in a manifesto summoned the youth of the country to rally to the support of the national cause under the banners of the Corps. The Generalissimo gave three principal reasons for the organization of the Youth Corps: First, the Corps has the dual purpose of successfully resisting invasion and fulfilling the plans of national reconstruction; second, the Corps is to create new strength for the furtherance of the revolution; third, the Corps is to make the Three People's Principles more effective. The two-fold purpose is to assist in national mobilization and to lay the foundation of a powerful nucleus to carry out future reconstruction.

According to the constitution of the Corps, Chinese youths of both sexes, ranging from 16 to 25 years of age, may apply for membership. Those above 25 years of age may become members

of the Kuomintang. When formally initiated into the Corps, the applicant is required to take the following oath:

"I hereby pledge with the utmost sincerity to abide by the Three People's Principles, to obey orders of the Leader, to observe faithfully the rules of the Corps, to enforce its decisions and to live up to the tenets of the New Life Movement. Both in discharging my duty to the state and in working for the welfare of the people, I will shun no hardship, nor dodge any sacrifice required of me. I am willing to take the severest punishment if I violate my oath."

The organization of the Corps is pyramidal. At its apex is the Leader who has complete authority over the Corps. Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek is the Leader. The highest executive organ is the Central Headquarters, under which are regional offices, district offices, branch offices, *chu* units, and sub-*chu* units. These offices, under chiefs appointed by the Leader, are scattered over the country.

In the Central Headquarters a Council of Secretaries enforces the leader's orders, adopts working plans and organizes and directs branch offices. Nine of the secretaries are on the executive committee, headed by General Chang Chih-chung, Minister of Political Training of the National Military Council, who is secretary-general. Under the Council of Secretaries are departments of organization, training, publicity, social service and women's work. Also in the Central Headquarters there is a Council of Supervisors. The Corps National Congress is to meet once every two years. The first Congress took place in March-April, 1943.

The Corps membership of 500,000 constitutes the cream of Chinese youths, according to Lieutenant-General Kang Tseh, in charge of the organization department of the Corps. Members are working in all parts of China, including enemy occupied regions, and 20 units have been organized by overseas Chinese youths in many parts of the world. Every college or senior middle school in China has a branch of the Corps. More than 60,000 staff workers organize and help train youths in local units, including Mongolian, Tibetan and Moslem youths in the northwestern provinces.

The work of the Corps in war areas and behind enemy lines has produced gratifying results. Some of the workers

have been killed by the enemy, but the work has not been disrupted. The particular task of Corps workers in the war areas is to train the masses and to lead them in effecting "scorched earth" tactics whenever fighting occurs.

Summer camps are held every year for college and middle school students. In the summer of 1941, camps were established in Chungking, Chengtu, Nanyo (Hunan) and Chengku (Shensi). In 1942 the number of camps and of the youths who received training were further increased. There were 2,000 students in the Chungking camp alone. Youth labor camps for technical training were started in the summer, with short-term course in engineering, chemistry, mechanics, mining, animal husbandry, textiles, agriculture, cooperation, accounting, statistics, nursing and home economics.

Social service work includes the opening of youth hostels, youth vocational guidance institutes and educational advisory committees. More than 20 youth hostels are maintained in various parts of the country, housing youths and students from war areas.

#### KUOMINTANG'S RELATIONS WITH OTHER PARTIES

The Kuomintang's relations with the Chinese Communist Party are both long and complicated. In December, 1922, Mr. A. A. Joffe, the Moscow government's special envoy to China, met Dr. Sun Yat-sen in Shanghai. The following January, the two issued a joint statement, which reads in part as follows:

"Dr. Sun Yat-sen holds that the Communistic order or even the Soviet system cannot actually be introduced into China, because there do not exist here the conditions for the successful establishment of either Communism or Sovietism. This view is entirely shared by Mr. Joffe, who is further of opinion that China's paramount and most pressing problem is to achieve national unification and attain full national independence, and regarding this task, he has assured Dr. Sun Yat-sen that China has the warmest sympathy of the Russian people and can count on the support of Russia."

In January, 1924, the Kuomintang completed its reorganization. An understanding was reached with the Chinese Communist Party whereby individual Chinese communists were allowed to join the Kuomintang "in

order to bolster the strength of revolutionary elements in the country." Li Ta-chao, then an important figure in the Chinese Communist Party, declared:—"In joining the Kuomintang, communists of the Third International are to obey Kuomintang principles, to adhere to Kuomintang discipline, and to participate in the national revolution. They have not the slightest intention of turning the Kuomintang into a communist party. Those communists who join the Kuomintang do so as individuals and not on a party basis."

Soon after they were admitted, however, the communists as an organized body engaged in activities contradictory to the Three People's Principles. At first, they were opposed to the Northern Expedition. After it was launched, they wormed their way into political and military organs, spread their network of surreptitious activities far and wide, conspired to control the masses. Meanwhile, their important leaders gathered in Hankow to create disturbances behind the Nationalist troops, thereby sabotaging the expedition. Later, they openly brought pressure to bear upon the Nationalist troops, and created a reign of terror in Hunan, Hupeh and Kiangsi.

In order to keep the expedition from failure, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and other Kuomintang leaders gathered in Nanking. In April, 1927, Nanking was declared the national capital of China. Simultaneously, steps were taken to purge the rank and file of the Kuomintang of communists. In July, the same year, the communists adopted a program of armed insurrection. From then on for a period of about eight years, the communists maintained a Red Army and a Soviet form of government over several Central China provinces with their "capital" in Juiking, southern Kiangsi. This was done in deliberate defiance of the National Government at Nanking. Finding it impossible to countenance such acts of insubordination, the National Government resorted to military measures. Numerous suppressive moves were launched. By early 1935, the Government troops had thrown a gradually tightening ring around Juiking. Whereupon, the communists, to avoid destruction, fled westward, crossing many provinces until they finally reached northern Shensi.

The increasing Japanese menace after 1931 and the realization of the futility of further armed opposition to the National Government, made the

communists see the necessity of reconciliation with the Kuomintang. In May, 1936, they appealed to the National Government that the punitive campaign against communist armed forces be ceased in order to join hands against Japanese aggression. Three months later, they repeated their appeal to the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang, and sent delegates to open negotiations with Kuomintang leaders, hoping to reach an agreement.

At the Third Plenary Session of the Fifth Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang held in Nanking in February, 1937, the following concrete proposals from the Chinese Communist Party were discussed:

1. The Chinese Soviet Government shall henceforth be known as the Special Area of the Republic of China, which shall be under control of the National Government and of the National Military Council.
2. In the territory of the Government of the Special Area, a democratic system of government shall obtain.
3. All activities designed to overthrow the National Government shall cease throughout the country.
4. The policy of land confiscation shall be discontinued.

A resolution was passed at the plenary session, which declared that a reconciliation with the Chinese Communist Party could be effected only under the following four conditions:

1. Abolition of the Red Army and its incorporation into the united command of the nation's armed forces.
2. Dissolution of the so-called "Chinese Soviet Republic" and similar organizations and unification of government power in the hands of the Central Government.
3. Absolute cessation of communist propaganda and acceptance of the Three People's Principles.
4. Stoppage of class struggle.

The Chinese Communist Party decided that the Kuomintang conditions were acceptable to them. Thus a reconciliation ensued. In July, 1937, Japan launched her long planned attack on North China. China rose in self-defense. As per the agreement of reconciliation, the National

Government reorganized the communist troops, first into the Eighth Route Army and later into the 18th Group Army and appointed Chu Teh and Peng Teh-huai as commander and deputy-commander. The Chinese Communist Party made a further declaration to the nation on September 22, 1937. The following are the important points in this declaration:

1. In order to safeguard the independence and freedom of the Chinese nation, a war of resistance shall be proclaimed. Only as the result of such a war can the lost provinces be restored, and the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country be maintained.

2. The Communist Party is prepared to fight for the realization of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary principles because they answer the present-day needs of China.

3. The policy of insurrection which aims at the overthrow of the Kuomintang political power, the policy of land-confiscation, and the policy of communist propaganda shall all be disowned and discontinued.

4. With the disappearance of the Chinese Soviet Government, a system of political democracy shall be put into practice, so that the country may be politically unified.

5. The former Red Army which has been reorganized into the Eighth Route Army shall be under the control of the National Military Council, and ever ready to be sent to the front.

In response to this declaration, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek gave the following press interview on September 23, 1937:—"The declaration made by the Chinese Communist Party shows clearly that national interests supersede all other considerations. The points contained in it such as the discontinuance of the policies of insurrection and communist propaganda, the disappearance of the Soviet Government, and the reorganization of the former Red Army, all tend to strengthen the National Government in its resistance to foreign invasion, and correspond to the decision of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang in February, 1937. The reference made by the Communist Party to its readiness to fight for the realization of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary principles shows further that the efforts of the entire nation are directed to one

single aim. Since the Communists have discarded their former opinions and have come to realize the importance of national independence and national interests, I hope they will sincerely carry out what is contained in the declaration, and further expect that they will work in unison with the rest of the nation to accomplish the task of national salvation."

#### THE NEW FOURTH ARMY INCIDENT\*

Though the 18th Group Army has caused numerous disturbances in the northern provinces since 1937, the National Government, with a view to preserving national solidarity in the face of a brutal aggressor, has shown the greatest forbearance and leniency in dealing with the ex-Communist troops. In the case of the New Fourth Army, which was formed of remnants of Communist troops south of the Yangtze after the fall of Nanking in December, 1937, the Government was constrained to take disciplinary action in January, 1940, when it became openly defiant of government orders. The New Fourth Army was dissolved, and its commander, Yeh Ting, arrested.

At the 10th Plenary Session of the C.E.C. in November, 1942, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek made known his views on China's internal and external policies. With regard to the Chinese Communist Party, the Generalissimo still championed a tolerant policy. He said that the Chinese Communist Party would be treated on the same plane as all other armed forces and civilians of the nation as long as they would, from now on, obey all laws and orders, refrain from disturbing the social order, organize no army of their own, cease the occupation of places by force, keep from hindering the prosecution of the war, or undermining national unity, and would in accordance with their manifesto of September 22, 1937, in which they expressed their readiness to face the national crisis in cooperation with the rest of the country, obey the orders of the Central Government and work for the realization of the Three People's Principles.

#### THE NATIONAL SOCIALIST PARTY AND CHINESE YOUTH PARTY

The Kuomintang's relations with the National Socialist Party and the Chinese Youth Party have been much less

\* For review of the military aspect of the New Fourth Army Incident, see Chapter VIII "Military Affairs."



complicated. In April, 1938, shortly after the Extraordinary National Congress of the Kuomintang, both these parties exchanged letters with the Kuomintang, declaring their endorsement of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's teachings as guiding principles of China. Following are translations of the exchange of letters:

April 13, 1938.

DEAR GEN. CHIANG,

The declaration issued by the Extraordinary National Congress of the Kuomintang on April 3, 1938, referring to the earnestness of the Kuomintang to seek the friendly cooperation of other political parties, is a most welcome document which prompts me and my colleagues to reciprocate to the best of our abilities. We hold that China, being a nation with a hoary tradition, is bound to come under the influence of traditional systems of thought. The Confucian classics teach a Weltanschauung which allows all things to grow great in common and all systems of philosophy to propagate at the same time and in the same place. Since the interests of the Chinese are catholic, their views do not tend to be biased or exclusive. But recent political conditions in Europe illustrate exactly the opposite situation. The European countries are most exclusive in outlook. The proletariat will not tolerate the capitalist, and the individualist will never care for the welfare of the group. This gives rise to numerous political parties and consequent conflicts and clashes, which we Orientals find it difficult to explain.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen, in the course of his activities for the revolutionary cause, had expounded the principles of racial, political, and economic democracy as the highest ideals for the nation. He would guarantee individual liberty without sacrificing social welfare; he would safeguard national interests without prejudice to the eventual realization of cosmopolitanism. In his attempts to adopt Western political ideals, he never forgot to infuse the traditional Chinese spirit into them. Even the Chinese Communists are relinquishing their class struggle in favor of the war for national liberation; even the totalitarian theorists are being convinced of the inapplicability of Fascism to Chinese conditions.

Nothing better than these facts illustrates more clearly the Chinese love for compromise and the golden mean. This Chinese characteristic mani-

fest itself in politics in the simultaneous application of Confucian and legalistic doctrines of government, and in religion in the simultaneous propagation of Buddhism and Taoism without the least friction such as one so often sees in European history. This feature of the Chinese character is peculiar to us, which we should do well to preserve and to develop. The recent declaration of the Extraordinary National Congress of the Kuomintang is an important document showing how the rule of the golden mean should be applied in practical politics. As the proverb says, "Toleration is productive of beneficial results." If now the Kuomintang shows toleration to all other political parties, a toleration that comes from the innermost depths of the Chinese heart, can there be any doubt that this is a sure sign of the regeneration of the Chinese nation?

We have watched for more than ten years how young people all over the country have been neglecting the fundamental problems and concentrating their attention on nonessential questions, and so we have advocated National Socialism and organized the National Socialist Party with the object of directing their energies into proper channels. The National Socialist Party published a pamphlet some years ago explaining in detail its political program. Though it is impossible to quote it *in extenso* here, I venture to enumerate three points which seem to coincide with the teachings of Dr. Sun Yat-sen.

A. The National Socialist Party advocates Nationalism.—A passage in the program of the National Socialist Party reads:

"We believe that nationalistic sentiments are stronger than class sentiments. If we examine either historical records or present-day conditions, we shall find that whenever nationalistic interests are involved, they always supersede class interests. When the Japanese oppression has reached an unbearable degree, even capitalists and workers, two antagonistic classes of society, are forced to unite in a common effort to resist the enemy. Thus, we can readily see that nationalistic sentiments are deep-rooted and are much stronger than class sentiments. Only the forces of nationality are able to smash class barriers, but no class interests are able to

destroy the unifying force of nationality. Let us take the U.S.S.R. as an example. She owes her success not so much to the spread of the class struggle throughout the world as to the nationalistic character of her socialist reconstruction."

B. The National Socialist Party advocates a Reformed Form of Democratic Government.—A passage in the program of the National Socialist Party reads:

"The reformed form of democratic government which we advocate is one which, while democratic in principle, precludes the possibility of any political party from entrenching itself in the seat of power. This type of government can operate in time of peace whether there are two or more or even no political parties. In a time of critical importance, this type of government is able to unify the nation quickly without distinctions of party or clique. We believe that such a political system is not incapable of being created."

Critics of the democratic form of government are legion since the World War. Italy and Germany, for instance, regard democracy as a degenerate political organization. But we hold that the essential elements of any political society are no more than two, namely, authority and liberty. The former belongs to the state and the latter to the individual citizen. Authority has to be increased in order to attain administrative efficiency and to meet the pressing needs of an emergency. Liberty in the forms of freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, the right of local self-government, and the right of suffrage, has to be increased in order to cultivate in the individual citizens both the power to take the initiative and a sense of responsibility. With the acquisition of these rights, the citizen will be in a position to participate in practical politics, and will know that, whether writing an article for publication, or speaking in a representative assembly, or deliberating in Cabinet councils, he must express his opinions only after mature deliberation and that fantastic schemes and ridicule have no place in the discussion of practical problems.

In a system of democratic government since the citizen has a chance to take part in the formulation of national policies, his sense of responsibility will

naturally be cultivated and his knowledge of practical politics increased. When a national crisis occurs, it is most important to secure the unification of control and rapidity of execution together with a spirit of cooperation which shows itself in the investiture of the supreme authority in a War Cabinet. Only if democracy is practised in times of peace, will people feel the necessity of a highly centralized control in times of war. Such was the case in the European democratic countries during the World War when they set up their War Cabinets.

C. The National Socialist Party advocates Socialism.—In economic matters, the National Socialist Party expects to see socialism realized. Several passages in its program read:

- "1. In order to guarantee an adequate existence to the individual, to improve both his intellectual and physical capacities, and to better his material conditions, we recognize private property.
- "2. In order to promote general welfare, to encourage national economy, and to adjust individual enterprises, we recognize public property.
- "3. All economic enterprises, whether private or public, shall be subject to government planning. But the actual work of carrying them forward may be left either to the state or to the individual, as the case may be.
- "4. Private property shall be so regulated by the state that everyone shall have a reasonable share but none shall be either excessively rich or excessively poor.
- "5. In order to increase productive efficiency and to contribute to national defense, the state may, by fair and peaceful methods, acquire the products of individual enterprises to serve as the basis of government enterprises."

Judged from the preceding points of view, the program of the National Socialist Party is really much the same as Dr. Sun Yat-sen's racial, political, and economic democracy, though the two may differ somewhat in phraseology. Granted that Dr. Sun's revolutionary principles establish the basis of Chinese national policy, actual conditions change

from time to time and therefore it is impossible to adopt a strictly Procrustean procedure. Furthermore, according to Section 26 of the *Program of Armed Resistance and National Reconstruction* in the course of the war, the freedom of speech, the freedom of the press, and the freedom of assembly shall be fully guaranteed to the people, provided they do not contravene Dr. Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary principles or the provisions of the law. This is entirely in accord with the opinion of the National Socialist Party. That is the reason why I have frankly set forth in the present letter the political principles of the National Socialist Party.

But since political problems cannot all be solved by means of a few general principles and there are questions that arise on the spur of the moment that defy an off-hand solution, I and my colleagues are ready to discuss them with government and Kuomintang leaders in a spirit of cordial cooperation.

Finally, let it be pointed out that at the present critical moment, nothing is more important than whole-hearted and unreserved support for the National Government. Of the members of the National Socialist Party, there are not a few who had taken an active part either in the Republican Revolution of 1911, or in the Anti-Yuan Shih-kai Movement of 1916. These persons who had cooperated with Dr. Sun Yat-sen in his revolutionary activities in the early years of the Republic are naturally so much the more attached to the Republican cause. That they will follow your lead in the present struggle is evident from the nature of the case.

Yours sincerely,

CARSON CHANG,

(Representative of the National Socialist Party).

Upon receipt of this letter, General Chiang Kai-shek replied in the following terms:

April 15, 1938.

DEAR MR. CHANG:

I take pleasure in acknowledging the receipt of your letter, dated April 13, 1938, in which you state that the program of the National Socialist Party is really much the same as Dr. Sun Yat-sen's racial, political, and economic democracy, that you and your colleagues are ready to discuss all questions with government and Kuomintang leaders in a spirit of cordial cooperation, and that nothing

is more important than whole-hearted and unreserved support for the National Government. I am delighted to find so much sincerity and frankness such as you have shown.

The principles by which the Kuomintang will be guided in its efforts to accomplish the task of armed resistance and national reconstruction are all embodied in the recent declaration issued by the Extraordinary National Congress of the Kuomintang. As I and my colleagues are fully conscious of the gravity of the present situation and of the seriousness of our responsibilities, I am determined to do my utmost in the discharge of my duties. I hope that men of ability will either join the Kuomintang and share in our work, or sympathize with the Kuomintang principles and endeavor to have them realized. As to the freedom of speech, the freedom of press, and the freedom of assembly, these are clearly defined and guaranteed in Section 26 of the *Program of Armed Resistance and National Reconstruction*. This guarantee shall serve as the rallying point both for members of the Kuomintang and for non-members in their efforts to achieve national salvation.

Yours sincerely,

CHIANG KAI-SHEK.

The letter from Mr. Tso Shun-sheng, leader of the Chinese Youth Party, to General Chiang Kai-shek reads:

April 21, 1938.

DEAR GEN. CHIANG,

At the present critical moment, though the Chinese Youth Party is convinced of the necessity of a prolonged war and of the likelihood of a victorious outcome, we dare not face the present situation with a light heart. The recent declaration issued by the Extraordinary National Congress of the Kuomintang and its *Program of Armed Resistance and National Reconstruction*, which we have received with the utmost goodwill and read with great care, are certainly beneficial to the country if they can be translated into facts.

As one of the objects of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary activities had been the assurance of liberty and equality to the Chinese nation, the present war led by the Kuomintang may well be considered a manifestation of this aspect of his teachings. Another object of his had been the establishment of a constitutional regime. Now that

the Extraordinary National Congress of the Kuomintang has decided to create the People's Political Council, and to guarantee the freedom of speech, the freedom of the press, and the freedom of assembly, we welcome this decision both as a preliminary step to the establishment of a constitutional regime, as envisaged by Dr. Sun, and as a satisfactory fulfillment of our demand for democratic government which we have been advocating for a number of years.

Since the National Government is the highest authority of the country by which the war is being carried on, we are determined to support it. If the political principles of the Chinese Youth Party fit into Dr. Sun's definition of his own revolutionary principles as a gospel for national salvation, we are anxious to see the Chinese Youth Party take a part in the work of wartime national reconstruction. We have always placed national interests over individual interests, and though we have not borne any direct political responsibilities during the last fifteen years, we have never relinquished our patriotic fervor and have even occasionally contributed a humble share under the most trying circumstances. As to our accomplishments, it is not for us to judge.

In a word, we have no other wish but to cooperate with the Kuomintang in face of present and future difficulties; we have no other hope but to work in unison with the Kuomintang for the preservation of the nation. We are as frank in the expression of our opinions as we are earnest in trying to see them realized.

Yours sincerely,

TSO SHUN-SHENG.

(Representative of the Chinese Youth Party).

Upon receipt of Mr. Tso's letter, General Chiang Kai-shek replied in the following terms:

April 24, 1938.

DEAR MR. TSO:

I take pleasure in acknowledging the receipt of your letter, dated April 21, 1938, in which you express your opinions on national affairs, identify the political principles of the Chinese Youth Party with Dr. Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary aims, show your whole-hearted support for the National Government and describe yourself as willing to exert your utmost to help in the work of armed resistance and national reconstruction. I am grate-

ful for such a frank expression of your views.

The principles by which the Kuomintang will be guided in its efforts to accomplish the task of armed resistance and national reconstruction have been amply set forth in the recent declaration issued by the Extraordinary National Congress of the Kuomintang. While we are fully conscious of our responsibilities, we must invite the cooperation of others in order to carry out the program drawn up for us by the Congress. The common expectation throughout the country today is the expulsion of the Japanese invader and the realization of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary principles. In view of the seriousness of the duties laid upon the Kuomintang, we are anxious to seek the cooperation of all men of ability. If your aim coincides with ours, we shall surely be able to work in unison for the welfare of the nation.

Yours sincerely,

CHIANG KAI-SHEK.

#### IMPORTANT KUOMINTANG DOCUMENTS

#### FUNDAMENTALS OF NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

(Formulated by Dr. Sun Yat-sen in 1924).

1. The National Government shall reconstruct the Republic of China on the basis of the revolutionary *San Min Chu I* (the Three People's Principles) and the Quintuple-Power Constitution.

2. The primary task of reconstruction is the people's livelihood. Consequently, concerning the four great necessities of the people—food, clothing, shelter and means of travel—the Government should, in cooperation with the people strive together to develop agriculture to feed them; to develop the textile industry to meet their clothing demands; to work out a large-scale housing project to furnish them with better living quarters; to improve and construct roads and canals to facilitate their traveling.

3. Second in importance is the people's sovereignty. The government should train and direct the people in their acquisition of political knowledge and ability, thereby enabling them to exercise the powers of election, recall, initiative and referendum.

4. Third comes nationalism. The government should help and guide the weak and small racial groups within its national boundaries toward self-determination and self-government. It should offer resistance to foreign aggression, and simultaneously it should revise foreign



treaties in order to restore our equality and independence among the nations.

5. The program of national reconstruction shall be divided into three periods:—First the military period; second, the period of political tutelage; third, the constitutional period.

6. In the military period, the whole administrative system shall be placed under military rule. The government on the one hand should employ its armed force to eradicate all internal obstacles and, on the other, disseminate its doctrines to enlighten the people as well as to promote national unity.

7. As soon as a province is completely restored to order, the period of political tutelage will commence and the military period will come to an end.

8. In the period of political tutelage the government should send persons, qualified through training and examination, to various *hsien* (counties) to assist the people in the preparation of self-government. A *hsien* may elect a magistrate for the execution of its administrative affairs and elect representatives for the deliberation and making of its laws in order to become a completely self-governed *hsien*, when a census of the whole *hsien* has been properly taken; a survey of its land has been completed; its police and local defense forces have been satisfactorily maintained; road-building and repairing within its boundaries have been successfully carried out; and its people have received training in the exercise of the four powers, fulfilled their duties as citizens, and pledged themselves to carry out the revolutionary principles.

9. Citizens in a completely self-governed *hsien* shall directly have the power of election, the power of recall, the power of initiative, and the power of referendum.

10. Every *hsien*, at the commencement of self-government, shall first assess the value of private land in the whole *hsien*, which value is to be declared by the landowner. The local government shall tax private land on the basis of the value assessed, and at any time may buy it on the same basis. If, after this assessment the land increases in value as a result of political advancement or social progress, such unearned increment should be shared by the people in the whole *hsien*, and should not be kept by the landowners as private benefit.

11. Annual receipts from land tax, unearned increment, products of public land, yields from mountains, forests, rivers and lakes, proceeds from mineral deposits and water power, all belong to the local government, and shall be used for the operation of local public enterprises of the people, for the care of the young and the aged, the poor and the sick, for famine relief, as well as to meet various public demands.

12. In various *hsien*, natural resources and large-scale industrial and commercial enterprises, the opening and development of which lie beyond the means of these *hsien* and require external capital, should be opened and developed with the help of the Central Government. Net profits so realized shall be divided equally between the Central and the local governments.

13. With regard to its obligation to the Central Government every *hsien* shall give a certain percentage of its annual revenue towards the Central Government's annual expenditure. Such percentage shall be determined each year by citizens' delegates, but it shall not be lower than 10 per cent or more than 50 per cent of the *hsien* revenue.

14. Every *hsien*, upon its adoption of self-government, may elect one delegate for the formation of a representative body to participate in political affairs of the Central Government.

15. All candidates and appointed officials, whether belonging to the Central or the local government, shall be persons found qualified in the examinations held by the Central Government or adjudged qualified by the personnel registration organ of the Central Government.

16. The constitutional period will commence in a province when all the *hsien* of the province have attained complete self-government. The body of citizens' delegates may elect a Governor to supervise self-government of the province. In matters involving national administration the Governor shall be subject to the direction of the Central Government.

17. In this period the authority of the Central Government and that of the provincial government shall be kept in equilibrium. Matters which by nature require uniform action on the part of the nation shall be assigned to the Central Government; matters which by nature should be dealt with locally shall be assigned to the local government. There is no tendency either to the centralization or to the decentralization of power.

18. The *hsien* is a unit of local self-government. The province stands between the Central Government and the *hsien* to bring about closer relationship between them.

19. As soon as the constitutional period begins, the Central Government should complete the formation of the five Yuan to experiment on a quintuple-power government. The five Yuan are named in the following order:—the Executive Yuan, the Legislative Yuan, the Judicial Yuan, the Examination Yuan and the Control Yuan.

20. The Executive Yuan shall tentatively have the following ministries: (1) The Ministry of the Interior; (2) The Ministry of Foreign Affairs; (3) The Ministry of Military Affairs; (4) The Ministry of Finance; (5) The Ministry

of Agriculture and Mining; (6) The Ministry of Labor and Commerce; (7) The Ministry of Education; (8) The Ministry of Communications.

21. Before the promulgation of a Constitution, the presidents of the five Yuan shall be appointed or removed and directed by the President (of the National Government).

22. The draft of the Constitution should be prepared by the Legislative Yuan in accordance with the *Fundamentals of National Reconstruction* and the achievements in the period of political tutelage and the constitutional period. It should, from time to time, be made public to the people in order to facilitate its adoption when the proper time comes.

23. When more than one half of the provinces have reached the constitutional period, that is when they have completely adopted local self-government, the People's Congress shall be convened to decide on and promulgate the Constitution.

24. After the promulgation of the Constitution the governing power of the Central Government shall be returned to the People's Congress for execution. That is, the People's Congress shall exercise the powers of election and recall in regard to officials of the Central Government, as well as the powers of initiative and referendum in regard to the laws of the Central Government.

25. The day of the promulgation of the Constitution marks the culmination of constitutional government. All citizens of the nation shall, in accordance with the Constitution, hold a general election. The National Government shall be dissolved within three months after the completion of the election and shall be succeeded by the new popularly-elected government. Whereupon the great task of national reconstruction will be regarded as accomplished.

## THE KUOMINTANG'S POLITICAL PROGRAM

(Adopted by the First Party National Congress in January, 1924.)

### A. FOREIGN POLICIES

1. All unequal treaties such as foreign leased territories, concessions and settlements, consular jurisdiction, foreign control of customs, and any form of foreign political power within Chinese territory that is detrimental to Chinese sovereignty, should be abolished, and in their place treaties which are equal and respect the sovereignty of both parties should be concluded.

2. China shall recognize all states which voluntarily relinquish their special rights and voluntarily renounce treaties detrimental to Chinese sovereignty as most-favored nations.

3. Other treaties concluded between China and the various Powers which are damaging to China's interests should be altered in

accordance with the principle of non-detriment to the sovereign rights of both parties.

4. China's foreign loans, so long as they are not detrimental to Chinese political and industrial interests, shall be guaranteed and repaid.

5. All Boxer indemnity funds should be used for educational purposes.

6. Foreign loans concluded by irresponsible governments within Chinese territory, such as the Peking Government which bribed its way into power, were not designed to promote the people's welfare but to maintain the position of the warlords concerned so that they could enrich themselves. The Chinese people have no obligation to repay such loans.

7. Professional groups such as bankers' associations and chambers of commerce and social bodies such as educational institutions in various provinces should be summoned to form an assembly to devise ways and means of redeeming foreign loans in order to free China from the lower than colonial status into which foreign loan obligations have plunged her.

### B. DOMESTIC POLICIES

1. The principle of equilibrium should be adopted in the demarcation of powers between the Central Government and the local governments. All matters which by nature are national in character shall be assigned to the Central Government, while matters local in nature shall be assigned to the local governments. There shall be inclination toward neither centralization nor decentralization.

2. People in various provinces may decide on their own constitutions and elect their own governors, but provincial constitutions must not conflict with the national constitution. The governors on the one hand should supervise self-government affairs in the provinces and on the other should administer national affairs under the direction of the Central Government.

3. The *hsien* (county) shall be the unit of local self-government. People in a self-governing *hsien* shall have the direct power of election and recall of officials, initiative and referendum.

Receipts from the land tax, unearned increment on land value, the yield from public land, and products from the mountains, forests, rivers, and lakes, and wealth from mineral deposits and water power should all belong to the local governments and should be used to finance public enterprises, and to bring up the young, to take care of the old, to relieve the poor, to succor victims of disaster, to undertake public health projects and to meet other public needs.

The development of natural resources in the *hsien* and large-scale industrial and commercial projects which lie beyond the financial abilities of the *hsien* concerned should receive assistance from the state. Profits made shall be divided

equally between the Central Government and the local governments.

With regard to its obligation to the state, the *hsien* should give a certain percentage of its annual receipts as a contribution to the national revenue. The amount should not be less than 10 per cent and not more than 50 per cent.

4. The system of popular suffrage should be put into force. Class election based on property qualifications should be abolished.

5. Laws governing various kinds of examination should be enacted to supplement the system of election.

6. The people shall have complete freedom of organization, assembly, speech, publication, domicile and religion.

7. The existing system of recruiting shall be gradually replaced by conscription. Attention shall be paid to the bettering of the economic conditions of junior officers and men and to the raising of their legal status. Agricultural and professional education shall be propagated among the armed forces. The qualifications of military officers shall be strictly regulated and the system of appointment and dismissal of military officers shall be reformed.

8. The legal rate of land tax shall be strictly stipulated and all levies in excess of the legal rate shall be prohibited. For example, *likin* and other taxes like it shall be abolished and never renewed.

9. A complete census shall be taken, arable land improved, and the production and consumption of foodstuffs adjusted to insure an adequate supply of foodstuffs for the people.

10. The rural organization shall be reformed to improve the livelihood of the farming populace.

11. Labor laws shall be enacted to improve the workmen's living conditions, to protect labor organizations and to foster their development.

12. Both legally, economically, educationally and socially, the principle of sex equality shall be definitely laid down to help the growth of women's rights.

13. Education shall be popularized and efforts shall be made towards the development of child education. The existing system of education shall be readjusted and funds for educational purposes shall be increased and steps shall be taken to safeguard the independence of these funds.

14. The state shall enact a Land Law, a Land Employment Law, a Land Requisition Law and a Land Value Tax Law. The value of private land shall be assessed by its owner and reported to the government, and the state shall impose taxes on the basis of the assessment. When necessary, the state may buy over the land in accordance with the value reported by the owner.

15. Enterprises which are monopolistic in nature and the development of which lies beyond private means, such as railways and navigation, shall be undertaken and managed by the state.

#### MANIFESTO OF THE EXTRAORDINARY NATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE KUOMINTANG

(Hankow, April 1, 1938) (Abridged)

China is at present prosecuting a war of resistance on a scale unprecedented in her history of 4,000 years. The motive of the present war is to resist the aggression of Japanese imperialism, to save the country from danger and extinction and, at the same time, to expedite the task of national reconstruction.

Japanese imperialism seeks, politically, to divest China of her independence and freedom and, economically, peg her down to a position of permanent productive backwardness and make her a commercial vassal state of Japan. The present danger is, therefore, incomparable to any of the military and political setbacks which she experienced in the past. For this reason, we must make every effort to fight for the existence and independence of our nation and people and, simultaneously, in accordance with the Three People's Principles, continue without interruption and push on our task of political and economic reconstruction, so that China will have a status of freedom and equality in the family of nations.

We know well that if peaceful circumstances had been obtaining, it would be much easier for China to achieve her reconstruction. But since Japan's imperialistic designs would not permit it, double responsibilities of resisting foreign invasion on one hand and reconstructing the country on the other fall on our shoulders at the same time.

After the sudden occurrence of the Lukouchiao Incident in July, 1937, our Comrade Chiang Kai-shek warned the nation that the ultimate crisis had arrived, because since the signing of the Tangku Agreement, China had endured every humiliation in her intercourse with Japan in the hope that by peaceful means she could preserve her northern provinces and gradually seek a reasonable solution to the problem of the four Northeastern provinces.

It has been the lowest aspiration of China to, politically, preserve her territorial and administrative integrity and, economically, co-operate with all other nations on principles of equality and reciprocity. Japan, however, regarded all these aspirations with disdain and intensified her plan of aggression.

Japan is still declaring that she has no territorial ambitions in China. But territorial right is indivisible. If China could not maintain her rights and administrative integrity on her own territory, then the so-called territory would lose

all its meaning. Similarly, if economic co-operation is not based on the principles of equality and reciprocity, it at once becomes pure robbery.

We had borne the heaping of insults and humiliations with the greatest degree of endurance, hoping for Japan's ultimate awakening. At the Fifth National Congress, we still declared; "We will not give up peace while there is the slightest hope for it; we will not talk lightly of sacrifice when we have not reached the limit of endurance." While this policy was closely adhered to, Japan, spurning all efforts for a peaceful settlement, suddenly attacked Lukouchiao, occupied Peiping and Tientsin, murdered our people, stole our property and destroyed both our cultural and economical structures. The atrocities committed by Japanese troops in China are unprecedented in history and unequalled anywhere in the world.

The real intention of Japan was to subjugate the northern provinces by means of terrorist methods. But these provinces are an integral part of China. They are the birthplace of Chinese civilization and the inner heart of China's economic structure. Without these provinces, China would find it impossible to develop into a modern state and to exist in the world. With them forever lost, China's future would be doomed.

This is why we regard the present time as a critical moment and, since it has come, we must face it with great determination, courage and willingness for sacrifice.

Since the beginning of the total warfare casualties among our officers and men have amounted to no less than 500,000. Innumerable unarmed civilians have been ruthlessly murdered by the enemy. Decency forbids us from telling the tales of shame and torture committed on our women. Both public and private buildings have been reduced to ashes.

But the blood of our fellow-countrymen and comrades will not be shed in vain when we shall have secured our final victory, recovered our territorial and administrative integrity, and made possible the rebirth of our nation, independent and equal in the family of nations. We must struggle to reach that goal. We should not stop halfway. To attain that object, we shall not shrink from sacrifices.

We must solemnly declare, however, that our primary desire is peace and our greatest hope is also peace. But the peace we desire must be such as will enable us to self-exist internally and co-exist with other nations externally. Such will be the real and permanent peace. Peace not based on justice is not peace, but submission. Peace prevents aggression while submission only invites it. China's submission to Japan would not only destroy the existence of the Chinese race, but would bring about a series of military campaigns which

would affect the peace of the world and saddle the Japanese people themselves with intolerable military expenses. The fire of military aggression, kindled in East Asia, would one day spread all over the world and subject all human beings to the horrors of slaughter and destruction.

The object of China's present war of resistance is the permanent peace of East Asia. China entertains no animosity against the Japanese people but hopes that they will bring their militarists to their senses. Japan, by her aggressive acts, has upset the equilibrium of nations in the Far East and has incurred the indignation of all human beings. It is, therefore, expected that the intelligentsia of Japan will wake up in time to save their country from disaster.

China, however, has on her side the favorable opinion and moral support of the world. All peace-loving countries have expressed their sympathy for China and censured Japan. However, it is to be deplored that foreign nations, prevented by their internal troubles and swayed by a desire to wait and see, have not yet come forward in a body to assert their rights, protect their interests and discharge their responsibility of upholding peace and checking aggression.

China has the Three People's Principles as her highest ideal and will strive for its realization. She is not allowed to waver or hesitate under difficult circumstances.

Economically speaking, industrial schemes laid down in the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen's *Plans for National Reconstruction* have definitely pointed out that foreign investments for the development of China's natural resources are always welcome. Any foreign country which desires to enter into economic cooperation with China on the basis of equality and reciprocity will be welcome. This is the fixed economic policy of China which allows no alteration or modification.

As to her foreign relations, China will always adhere to the following two principles: (1) Strictly to observe all treaties for the maintenance of international peace to which she is a party; and (2) continuously to strive for the development of the existing good relationships with foreign countries.

China, knowing her own economic poverty and military weakness, has been striving for her own advancement and development in order to attain a position of freedom and equality among the nations. Even in this period of unprecedented crisis, she is relying on nothing but her own efforts in a struggle to deliver herself from the danger of enslavement. She does not expect anything from her neighbors which she does not deserve.

There is something, however, of which we feel obliged to remind all advanced nations. That is the indivisibility of world peace. Benefit or detriment to a part is the same to the whole. Therefore, when a country seeks the security



of the world, it seeks that of her own. This is why all nations should strive with concerted efforts to safeguard world peace as a whole by applying sanctions against aggressors in order that the war in East Asia may be put to an early end and the world crisis which is now fermenting here and there may be averted. This will not benefit China alone, but all countries in the world.

The internal policy of China, in fact, coincides with her foreign policy. All China's reconstructive endeavors are based on the Three People's Principles from which both her internal and external policies derive their origins. China externally seeks the position of freedom and equality among nations and works to attain that goal. Acting upon this principle, she resists aggression and works for her own rehabilitation simultaneously. Her resistance does in no way retard or affect her reconstruction efforts. The latter must be carried out hand in hand with the former and not after the successful conclusion of hostilities. This is why we say that the day when we secure our victory will also be the day when we complete our reconstruction and attain the position of freedom and equality among the nations.

At present, when the suffering of the people is being intensified every day, every dutiful citizen has risen and rallied around this Party to form a united front against the enemy. They do not shrink from difficulties, nor do they dodge dangers and perils. Many months have passed and their determination has never shown any sign of weakening, but grows stronger every day. Our comrades in arms have withstood the enemy day and night under hailstorms of bullets and shells. Their fearless spirit is their armor and their flesh and blood are their castles and ramparts. The second line steps up as soon as the first line falls. Their bodies may perish but their spirit never wavers.

The producing elements of the population cheerfully contribute the fruit of their sweat and toil to strengthen the nation's resistance and to alleviate its suffering. The patriotism and perseverance of the peasants and laborers are especially praiseworthy.

It is, therefore, the bounden duty of the Government to afford full protection to these officers and men fighting on various fronts and the general populace who work for the common cause. The welfare of the fighting men's families, the pensioning of the disabled soldiers, medical care for the wounded, relief of the war refugees, aids to the unemployed and all other tasks which have been planned and begun, should be carried on and improved to perfection so that both our armed comrades and peaceful citizens will enjoy their livelihood and will in turn further strengthen the national resistance.

But the greatest consolation to the dead and also the highest reward for the living will be ultimate victory and national reconstruction. It is, therefore, the duty of all Party members and our comrades to realize the general aspirations of the entire populace.

There are, however, two other things which must not be over-looked in the bustle of war. The first is the elevation of the moral standard of the people. The nation's rebirth depends greatly upon the people's sense of responsibility, patriotism and willingness to sacrifice their private interests for the common good of the nation. World peace also depends upon the promotion of love among mankind. In fact, China's sustaining power in the present hostilities lies chiefly in the latent moral quality of her people which, for the same reason, should be further developed and glorified.

The second is the advancement of science studies. The promotion of natural sciences, from the technical point of view, will aid the present war in no uncertain degree and the promotion of social sciences will accelerate the coordination and systematic development of social institutions. Both the moral elevation of the people and the advancement of science studies work hand in hand towards the ultimate goal of military victory and national reconstruction.

China is at present undergoing great difficulties unprecedented in her history of more than 4,000 years and the present war of resistance is also unprecedented in her long history.

Ever since the beginning of hostilities, the Central Executive Committee has with a unanimous vote vested our Comrade Chiang Kai-shek with powers to unify the command of all Party, political and military matters and shoulder the responsibility of bringing about a successful conclusion of both military resistance and economic reconstruction.

The whole nation has now rallied under his command and has begun an onward march on the road of sure success and victory. The experience gained during the past few months has amply shown us that with concerted efforts and regulated steps, coupled with diligence, courage, and unselfishness, the enemy, however strong, will be crushed and the final goal, however distant, will be reached.

The Extraordinary National Congress of the Kuomintang with the profoundest sincerity and highest respect hereby declares to our fellow-countrymen throughout the country and abroad that hereafter we shall utilize our valuable experience and make redoubled efforts, under the common faith of the Three People's Principles, to forge the hearts of 450,000,000 people into one heart and to combine the strength of 450,000,000 people into one force, to serve the country with faith and loyalty and to obey the command of our leader so that the highest

aspirations may be realized and the noblest mission may be fulfilled. May the spirit of our *Tsungli*, who is in heaven, witness this!

### PROGRAM OF ARMED RESISTANCE AND NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

(Adopted by the Extraordinary Kuomintang National Congress on April 1, 1938.)

The Kuomintang is leading the entire nation in carrying on armed resistance and national reconstruction. Success in both tasks will require not only the efforts of members of this Party but also the acceptance of responsibility by the people as a whole in a united endeavor. Consequently, this Party has deemed it necessary to call on the people to abandon their prejudices and sink their differences in favor of oneness of purpose and unity in action. For this particular reason, at its Extraordinary National Congress this Party has formulated and adopted various principles governing diplomacy, military affairs, politics, economic affairs, mass movement and education, and caused their promulgation for general observance so that the nation's strength may be collected and general mobilization may be attained. These principles are as follows:

#### I. GENERAL PROVISIONS

1. The Three People's Principles and other teachings bequeathed by *Tsungli* (Dr. Sun Yat-sen) are hereby declared as the highest authority regulating all war activities and the work of national reconstruction.

2. The nation's war strength shall be centralized under the leadership of this Party and of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek in order to make possible the fullest progress.

#### II. DIPLOMACY

3. In accordance with the spirit of independence and sovereignty, China is prepared to ally herself with all states and peoples that sympathize with her cause, and to wage a common struggle for peace and justice.

4. China is prepared to exert her utmost to uphold and increase the authority of any international peace structure as well as all treaties and conventions that aim at safeguarding world peace.

5. China is prepared to ally herself with all forces that are opposed to Japanese imperialism in order to check Japanese aggression and to establish and maintain a lasting peace in East Asia.

6. China is prepared to improve still further the existing friendly relations with various nations in order to win greater sympathy for her cause.

7. All bogus political organizations which Japan has set up in Chinese territory now under her military occupation, and all their actions, both internal and external, are declared null and void.

#### III. MILITARY AFFAIRS

8. Political training in the army shall be intensified in order to familiarize all officers and men with the meaning of armed resistance and national reconstruction and to make them, one and all, ready to lay down their lives for the nation.

9. All able-bodied citizens shall be trained; the people's military ability for self-defense shall be strengthened; military units engaged in war shall be reinforced; and overseas Chinese who have returned to offer their services at the front shall be given special training in the light of their skills and abilities to fit them for participation in the defense of their fatherland.

10. People in various localities who have their own arms shall receive direction and support from the Government; under the command of the various war area commanders, they shall cooperate with the regular troops in military operations for the defense of their homeland against external foes, and also for the purpose of starting widespread guerilla warfare in the enemy's rear in order to destroy and harass enemy forces.

11. In order to heighten military morale and boost the people's enthusiasm for national mobilization, both the wounded and dependants of the killed shall be looked after, the disabled shall be rehabilitated, the families of soldiers shall be given preferential consideration.

#### IV. POLITICS

12. An organ shall be set up for the people to participate in affairs of state, thereby unifying the national strength and collecting the best minds and views for facilitating the formulation and execution of national policies.

13. The *hsien* (county) shall be taken as the basic unit in which self-defense organizations shall be strengthened through training the people and increasing their power, and in which conditions for local self-government shall be fulfilled as soon as possible in order to provide a strong political and social foundation during wartime and to pave the way for constitutionalism.

14. There shall be a thorough reform in the machinery of all grades of government with the object of simplifying it and making it rational, and administrative efficiency shall be heightened in order to meet the needs of war.

15. The conduct of officials of all ranks shall conform to rules; they shall be dutiful, ready to sacrifice themselves for the country, observe discipline and obey orders so that they may serve as models for the people; those disloyal to their duty and obstructing the prosecution of the war shall be court-martialled.

16. Corrupt officials shall be severely punished and their property shall be confiscated.

## V. ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

17. Economic reconstruction shall concern itself mainly with matters of military importance and, in addition, with matters that contribute to the improvement of the people's livelihood. With these objects in view a planned economy shall be put into operation, investments by people both at home and abroad shall be encouraged, and large-scale wartime production shall be undertaken.

18. The greatest measure of energy shall be devoted to the development of rural economy, the encouragement of cooperative enterprises, the regulation of foodstuffs with regard to their demand and supply, the cultivation of wasteland and the improvement of irrigation installations.

19. Mining shall be undertaken, the foundations for heavy industries shall be laid, light industries shall be encouraged, and handicraft industries in the various provinces shall be developed.

20. Wartime taxes shall be levied and the financial administration shall be thoroughly reformed.

21. The banking business shall be controlled so that industrial and commercial activities may be properly adjusted.

22. The position of *fapi* (legal tender) shall be fortified, foreign exchange shall be controlled and imports and exports shall be regulated, all for the sake of financial stability.

23. The communication systems shall be reorganized, connecting transportation by waterways, overland routes and airways shall be instituted, more railways and highways shall be built and more airlines shall be opened.

24. No hoarding, speculation and manipulation shall be allowed, and a system of price stabilization shall be enforced.

## VI. MASS MOVEMENT

25. The people throughout the country shall be aroused and organized into occupational groups such as unions of farmers, laborers, merchants and students. The rich shall be asked to contribute in money and the able-bodied shall contribute in labor service. All classes of people shall be mobilized for the war.

26. The freedom of speech, the freedom of the press and the freedom of assembly shall be fully protected by law, in the course of the war, provided they do not contravene the Three People's Principles which are the nation's highest principles, and provided they are within the scope of laws and ordinances.

27. Refugees from the war areas and unemployed people shall receive relief and shall be organized and trained so that their services may be available for the war.

28. The people's national consciousness shall be promoted so that they may assist the

Government in eradicating reactionaries. Traitors shall be severely punished and their property shall be confiscated in accordance with law.

## VII. EDUCATION

29. Both the educational system and teaching material shall be revised. A program of wartime education shall be instituted with emphasis on the cultivation of the people's morals, and the enhancement of scientific research and the expansion of necessary facilities.

30. Technical personnel of all kinds shall be trained and given proper assignment in order to meet the needs of war.

31. Youths shall be given training to enable them to work in the war areas or rural districts.

32. Women shall be given training so that they may be of service to social enterprises and thereby of help to the nation's war strength.

## MANIFESTO OF THE EIGHTH PLENARY SESSION OF THE FIFTH C.E.C.

The following is an abstract of the Manifesto issued by the Eighth Plenary Session of the Fifth Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang in April, 1941.

The nation is now in the heat of armed resistance against a brutal foe whose troops have occupied portions of our territory. On China's part a good national foundation has barely been laid. Simultaneously, the world is undergoing incessant changes. During this period of trial and tribulation, the Chinese people should work faster and strive harder to expel the invaders and push our reconstruction program to a successful conclusion. Only in this way can we acquit ourselves of the task bequeathed to us by the Father of our Republic and by our revolutionary martyrs.

Now that the plenary session has come to an end, we wish to set forth the following points as objectives of our people's common endeavors in the future.

First, China's resistance has become a basic power to check the enemy in the Pacific. It also constitutes an important pivot on which turns mankind's peace or peril, beatitude or disaster. The situation today differs greatly from that which existed at the beginning of our resistance. The close relationship between China's resistance and the re-establishment of world peace has become increasingly manifest as more of the enemy's aggressionist designs have been exposed. We feel encouraged by and grateful to Soviet Russia, Great Britain and the United States for their profound sympathy and larger assistance. But in order to measure up to their expectations, we must continue to gain in strength. We need to safeguard the independence and continuous existence of our nation and at the same time discharge our share

of the common duty toward peace and security in the Pacific.

Of late, the Japanese militarists who were responsible for the absurd slogan "New Order of Greater East Asia," have given lip service to another ridiculous theory known as the "Eight Corners of the World Under One Roof." The public in Europe and America are puzzled by this strange phraseology. In reality, however, it means nothing more than "domination of the world." It is an open admission of Japan's inordinate ambition for "world conquest" such as was stated in the Tanaka Memorial.

From China's point of view, the main objective of Japan's present southward move is to conquer this country. To other nations, it should provide an insight into the scope of Japanese aggressionist schemes. They must not allow themselves to be taken in by deceiving words or by clever arguments. Today the situation is such that an enemy rampant is incompatible to the existence of China or to peace and security in East Asia. If the enemy should succeed in his invasion of China and the South Seas, the world will experience endless calamities from now on. Consequently, the outcome of China's resistance is inseparably bound up with the peace or peril in East Asia as well as with the beatitude or disaster of the world.

Second, a nation depends primarily on its defense organization to safeguard its existence and development, and the first task in national reconstruction is to build an army. Since it effected the unification of the country, the National Government has exerted constant efforts to organize a national army, to unify military administration and army command, and to improve military equipment and material. This explains the strength and tenacity which our army has demonstrated in the present war. But it should further be stressed that the existence of an army hinges on its discipline, which, in turn, is based on the statutes and laws of the nation. The latter again have their roots in the fundamental principle for national existence. The highest principles guiding our nation in war and reconstruction were clearly stated in the preamble of the *Program of Armed Resistance and National Reconstruction*. Furthermore, the *Program of National Spiritual Mobilization* has laid down the following points as essential to the defeat of the enemy and our victory.

1. Not to act contrary to the highest principle of China's national revolution, namely, the *San Min Chu I*;

2. Not to propagate ideology which transcends the nation nor to express opinions which tend to impair the oneness of the state;

3. Not to sabotage military administration, army command and the system of political administration;

4. Not to take advantage of the war situation for any objective other than the interest of the country.

These are the common creeds which the entire people and army should follow.

Third, the simultaneous pursuance of resistance and reconstruction has been our fixed policy since the beginning of the war. The nation we are striving to build is a *San Min Chu I* Republic which was clearly stipulated in the Draft Permanent Constitution promulgated by the National Government in 1936. It was for the realization of this very objective and ideal that innumerable martyrs before the inauguration of the Republic and countless revolutionary warriors since its foundation so gallantly laid down their lives. It was further clearly defined in the same document that "All races of the Republic of China are component parts of the Chinese nation," "All citizens of the Republic of China shall be equal before the law," and "The sovereignty of the Republic of China is vested in the whole body of citizens."

The creation of a nation of the people, by the people, and for the people was the objective of the Father of our Republic in his life-long efforts, and it is the ideal toward which we have been faithfully striving. Therefore, even with the nation at war, continuous efforts for the promotion of constitutionalism have been made. The convening of the People's Political Council and the establishment of provisional People's Political Councils in the provinces and municipalities are concrete indications of this trend. Our resolution to bring about democracy in this country has proved firmer with the lapse of time. In the light of the painful experiences the nation has gone through since the beginning of the Republic, we conclude that unless we make rapid progress in basic work of local self-government, we will never succeed in laying a solid foundation for democracy.

Fourth, the people's livelihood should receive first consideration in reconstruction. The outcome of a war is often decided by economic factors. In the case of China today, material reconstruction is equally as urgent as military replenishment, and it must further be realized that economic reconstruction is the foundation for all other activities. However, economic reconstruction must have as its most important objective the strengthening of our national defense, for only when we can defend ourselves can we direct our efforts toward enriching our means of sustenance. This is too evident to call for any further comment.

We must be careful, however, in our thought and prudent in our judgment. If the improvement of the people's livelihood is used only as a pretext to instigate class struggle, it will result in social turmoil and will lead to the decentralization of the nation's efforts and resources and will therefore, hinder economic reconstruction.



Such attempts are incompatible to the welfare of the nation and military principles. Meanwhile, if the freedom of business is used as an excuse for hoarding and manipulation or as an argument against the policy of economic control, the resultant anarchy in economic situation will cause serious social perils in time of war. Such attempts, too, cannot be tolerated if the spirit of the Three People's Principles is to be upheld.

The Principle of the People's Livelihood as laid down by the Father of our Republic aims at safeguarding the livelihood of the great majority of the Chinese people. Our efforts in economic reconstruction today, therefore, should go to strengthen the national defense as a means of insuring the safety of the Chinese nation and to plan for the livelihood of the people as a whole in order to maintain social stability. This admits neither attempts to raise the livelihood of individuals that are prejudicial to national defense, nor attempts to exercise personal freedom that may affect social order in the rear.

The consumption of material supplies must be placed under strict control. Agricultural and industrial production must be increased by positive measures. All economic undertakings of the people must be protected and regulated by law. Only thus can China stand a protracted war and fight to win a final victory.

This plenary session, on the basis of the teachings of the Father of our Republic, has made an exhaustive study of a wartime economic policy. It has decided in favor of readjustment in the system of revenue collection by placing the land tax under the National Government. The purpose is to pave the way for the realization of the *Plans for National Reconstruction* and this Party's land policy. It has also decided to enforce food control, to introduce government monopoly in the sale of all daily necessities and to enforce a policy of economic control as a whole. In this manner it is hoped to keep the distribution of supplies of the people well balanced.

This plenary session wishes today to place solemnly before the nation the aforementioned four points as the goal of common endeavors. All of our beloved fellow-countrymen must know that although our strength for resistance is now greater than before, and that changes in the international situation have been increasingly favorable to us, victory cannot be had by sitting idle. Henceforth, we hope all our fellow-countrymen will strengthen their spirit of endurance and perseverance (sleeping on straw and tasting bile) and strive to reach further heights of enthusiasm. Let everybody live up to the principles of self-denial and thrift and encourage one another in the pursuit of our national cause. Let us all be of one heart and work together so that we may win in war and succeed in reconstruction.

## MANIFESTO OF THE NINTH PLENARY SESSION OF THE FIFTH C.E.C.

The following is an abstract of the Manifesto issued by the 9th Plenary Session of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang in December, 1941.

The Manifesto of the 9th Plenary Session recalls that in March the 8th Plenary Session of the Committee in a similar declaration stressed the value of Chinese resistance to the whole world and expressed the determination of the Chinese people to persevere in their struggle until the invaders were driven from Chinese soil and their ambition so chastised that they should never again attempt to dominate Asia and break the peace of the world. During the nine months that have since passed the Chinese armies have continued to wear the enemy down and involve them deeper and deeper in the embarrassments of protracted warfare. Then on the 8th of the present month the Japanese proceeded to add to their former enormities a crime unprecedented in human history by precipitating war in the Pacific. China immediately declared war on Japan and her allies, and Generalissimo Chiang gave expression to the will of the Chinese people to do all in their power to advance the campaign against the common enemy. The present session has been sitting simultaneously with the opening stage of this new conflict. Looking back over the past four years and more of resistance and looking forward into the future the session is impressed with the great mission and onerous duties with which the nation is charged. In this Manifesto, therefore, it outlines the nature of the pressing tasks to which the efforts of Government and people should henceforth be devoted.

First, it holds that a deeper and sounder faith in the Three People's Principles is called for. These principles guided Dr. Sun in his conduct of the revolution whereby he sought to save both China and the world. He saw that the progress of human society depends upon the solution of the problems of man's ways of life and that all these problems may be brought under the three heads of nationhood, sovereignty and livelihood. On a foundation of the traditional conceptions of Chinese morality he built a system incorporating the egalitarian and humanist spirit of modern times. He believed that national rehabilitation brought about by the revolution would open up the way to the ultimate goal of world unity. The Three People's Principles, therefore, constitute a body of political truths of unrivalled value for humanity in its present circumstances. The Eight Points of the Roosevelt-Churchill Manifesto are in perfect agreement with them in all that concerns the freedom and independence of nations, equality of economic status and cooperation in the pursuit of economic progress and social security,

and the Chinese people, therefore, accords that manifesto its whole-hearted approval. It believes that the present war against the aggressor nations is aimed at providing a guarantee for the freedom and security of all nations great and small, and averting any repetition of such disastrous warfare in the future. To that end it is prepared to contribute the utmost measure of its manpower and resources. We desire to see the nations opposing aggression, achieve military, political and economic collaboration and complete solidarity of purpose in carrying the war to a successful conclusion attended by the establishment of a world order allowing of permanent peace and equality of economic opportunity among all countries. The Session expects of all citizens at home and abroad the fullest realization of the part China has to play in the endeavor to remove from the world the terror of aggression and restore the reign of justice and peace.

Second, the Manifesto dwells on the need for more thorough conformity of ways of life to the exigencies of wartime and the more effective mobilization of our strength and resources. The issue is one of goodwill in conflict with brute force and of truth against falsehood and therefore the result is not to be doubted, but war is a perilous undertaking and permits of no negligence in its prosecution. The fact that despite the abundance of our resources of men and material, we have yet failed after years of war to drive the invaders from our soil, must cause us severely to reflect upon our shortcomings. Modern war engages the total strength of nations and victory depends upon the ability to bring to bear the united will and devotion of the people in the service of the ideals for which they are fighting. It must inspire us to think that those ideals embrace the well-being of all mankind in addition to the preservation of our own national existence. Every man and every ounce of material has to be made to yield the maximum of utility to the national war effort, the whole nation operating as one fighting unit wherein all military, economic, educational and social considerations are subordinated to the demands of the war, and of the part we have to play in collaboration with the powers in whose company we are waging it.

Third, the Session desires to see more thorough-going and conscientious execution of the Government's wartime policies and measures. In its detailed resolutions it has laid down the features of future military, political, economic, educational and social policy. Here four main points are emphasized:

(1) The pressing forward of reconstruction in the primary phases of local government, the completion of the new system of *hsien* administration within the stipulated period of time and the training of the people in the exercise of the Four Rights in order to build up the basic

structure of autonomous and representative government. The Central Government should meanwhile find means of affording the best of the nation's talent and intellect the fullest opportunities of sharing the responsibility for the conduct of national affairs.

(2) The strengthening of economic control with a view to improving production and transport of military necessities and essential commodities in every possible way. This includes the strict management of the supply and distribution of goods essential to the people's livelihood, the stabilization of commodity prices and labor costs, and the elimination of hoarding and speculation.

(3) The execution of the land policy and the institution of government machinery to deal exclusively with land registration and the equalization of land ownership, the more effective exploitation of the potentialities of the soil and the general enforcement and accelerated fulfilment of the existing provisions of the Government's land legislation.

(4) Fuller mobilization of the nation's manpower and the revision of the code of provisions for national mobilization. This includes the improvement of the methods of conscription for military and labor service in such a way as to distribute the burden more equally.

Such is an outline of the tasks involved in wartime reconstruction and those we are obliged to fulfil by our participation in the present world war. The Government must assume a far-sighted and magnanimous attitude and strive by all means in its power thoroughly to implement its measures of wartime policy. The war must be the central and unceasing pre-occupation of the thoughts of all citizens. Administration must be war administration and economy war economy; in all social and educational matters the war must be the dominant consideration. The rear must form a solid unit designed to provide the means of war. The sacred mission of our people may thus be fulfilled, its claim to a status of independence and equality be vindicated, and its national existence in the modern world be assured.

## MANIFESTO OF THE TENTH PLENARY SESSION OF THE FIFTH C.E.C.

The following is an abstract of the Manifesto issued by the 10th Plenary Session of the Fifth Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang in November, 1942.

The Manifesto begins by saying that the relinquishment by America and Britain of their extra-territorial and other special rights in China as offered in their declarations on October 10, this year, means the fulfilment of a mission which the Father of the Republic (Dr. Sun Yat-sen) had charged his followers to complete. It also marks the successful conclusion of one

of the Kuomintang's revolutionary efforts during the last half century.

The Manifesto recounts the struggle of the Kuomintang, first against the Manchu regime, and later against the northern warlords. Since the Lukouchiao outrage it has been leading the nation in resistance against the Japanese invaders. Heroic sacrifices of armed forces and hardships met by civilians during the last five years have convinced the enemy of China's invincibility and prompted the friendly powers' expression in a concrete way of their respect for China's freedom and equality. China's initial success towards the abolition of unequal treaties is a hard won. It comes only as the result of a long struggle. The present opportunity should be utilized further to strengthen China's national foundation.

As for China's future efforts, both internally and externally, the Manifesto calls the Chinese people's attention to the following four points:

First, that the supreme principles persistently guiding China's national revolution have been the Three People's Principles which aim at saving not only China but the world as well. The regeneration of China is closely related with world rehabilitation. The present war is one between the Democracies and the Axis aggressors. Right must win and Might must be destroyed. Mankind as a whole must secure genuine equality and freedom. At Stalingrad, in the Solomons and in North Africa, the Soviet Union, America and Britain have won brilliant successes, not merely because of their superior weapons but because of the coming into action of the revolutionary spirit of civilized mankind. This should give us cause for rejoicing and at the same time it should enhance our faith in our common victory. Whether righteousness and peace will reign in the world after this war and whether the Three People's Principles will be realized will depend on the extent of endeavors on the part of all the United Nations. Our *Tsungsai* (Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek) in enunciating our obligations toward the war and our hopes for the future, has suggested the immediate organization of an international order embracing all peoples to enforce peace and justice among them and to remove, once and for all, causes of war.

Second, a call for the acceleration of China's war effort. The Chinese people must not allow their attention to be diverted to future accomplishments, to the oblivion of their present responsibility. They must not relax in their present war effort. Since the commencement of the war of resistance, it has been China's consistent policy to be self-reliant and to be prepared for the greatest difficulties and hardships. It is all for the purpose of securing victory that the National General Mobilization Act must be fully enforced, wartime life regulated, economic control effected, conscription improved,

working time lengthened, farm and industrial production increased, and the spirit of service revived.

Third, that the materialization of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's industrial plans and the consummation of the program of local self-government should be the two major goals for our efforts from now on. It is emphasized that a sound political and economic organization in the basic strata of society constitutes the foundation for the realization of the Principle of People's Sovereignty and the Principle of People's Livelihood.

Fourth, the need for greater solidarity internally. In order to regenerate the country, the present opportunity must not be allowed to pass by. We must foster a spirit of greater solidarity and utmost sincerity. All patriots, by reviewing China's history for the last fifty years, will discover that Dr. Sun's Three People's Principles and his revolutionary programs are not tenets for the Kuomintang alone but the necessary ways whereby the entire nation can make secure its existence. China today has reached a crucial point. The people must no longer suspect one another, discriminate against one another, or checkmate and obstruct one another. In the case of all those who sincerely believe in the Three People's Principles, obey laws and orders, do not hinder prosecution of the war, do not attempt to upset social order, and do not occupy places in defiance of Government orders, both the Government and the people should forget about their past record either in thought or in deed, and should respect their opportunity, be they individuals or political groups, to serve the country. For only with real unity can we be equal to our unprecedentedly immense task.

The Manifesto concludes by exhorting all Kuomintang members and the entire nation to strive together for the attainment of the above-mentioned objectives, pointing out that equal emphasis should be given to the revival of China's old virtues, and to the acquiring of such scientific knowledge and skill as will be required for the modernization and industrialization of the country.

#### SAN MIN CHU I, OR THE THREE PEOPLE'S PRINCIPLES

Dr. Sun published his three volumes of *Plans for National Reconstruction*—Psychological Reconstruction, Material Reconstruction, and Social Reconstruction—in 1918. Later he devoted himself to the writing of *Reconstruction of The State*. This book, larger than the former three volumes, included the *Min-Tsu Chu I*, or the Principle of Nationalism, the *Min-Chuan Chu I*, or the Principle of People's Rights and the *Min-sheng Chu I*, or the Principle of People's Livelihood, the Quintuple-Power Con-

stitution, Local Government, Central Government, Foreign Policy, and National Defense, altogether eight parts. By June, 1922, the Principle of Nationalism had gone to the printer, the other two parts on People's Rights and Livelihood were almost completed, while the general line of thought and method of approach in the remaining parts had been mapped out. Dr. Sun waited for some spare time to proceed with the writing, when suddenly Chen Chiung-ming, the military commander in Kwangtung, revolted on June 16, 1922, and turned his guns upon Dr. Sun's headquarters on Kwanying Hill. The gunfire destroyed Dr. Sun's notes and manuscripts which represented the mental labor of years, together with hundreds of foreign books which he had collected for reference.

After the re-organization of the Kuomintang in 1924, there was an urgent demand among Party members for propaganda material. Between January 27 and August 24 that year, Dr. Sun gave weekly extemporaneous lectures on the Three People's Principles at the National Kwangtung University in Canton. Altogether he delivered sixteen lectures: six on the Principle of Nationalism, six on the Principle of People's Rights and four on the Principle of People's Livelihood. Judging from their contents, Dr. Sun's lectures on the Principle of People's Livelihood were incomplete. There should have been two or more lectures. Late in 1924, Dr. Sun went to North China, where he died in Peiping on March 12, 1925. The following summaries of his lectures are based upon Frank W. Price's English translation, first published in Shanghai in August, 1927.

#### MIN-TSU CHU I, (THE PRINCIPLE OF NATIONALISM)

**LECTURE 1:** The Chinese people have shown the greatest respect for the family and the clan with the result that in China there have been family-ism and clan-ism but no real nationalism. That is why foreigners often say that the Chinese people are like a bed of loose sand.

China, since the Ch'in and Han dynasties, has been developing a single state out of a single race. Therefore, it is correct to say that the principle of nationalism is equivalent to the doctrine of the state. In the West, however, it is different because foreign countries have developed many states from one race and have included many nationalities within one state.

Race or nationality has developed through natural forces, while the state has developed through force of arms. Factors in the development of a race are: blood kinship, common language, common livelihood, common religion and common customs and habits. These are products not of military occupation but of natural evolution. Considering the law of survival of ancient and modern races, if we want to save China and to preserve the Chinese race, we must promote nationalism.

The Chinese race totals 400,000,000 people; of mingled races there are only a few million Mongolians, a million or so Manchus, a few million Tibetans, and over a million Mohammedan Turks. These alien races do not number altogether more than ten million, so that, for the most part, the Chinese people are of the Han or Chinese race—a single pure race.

In comparison with other nations we have the greatest population and the oldest culture, of 4,000 years' duration. We ought to be advancing in line with the nations of Europe and America. But the Chinese people have only family and clan groups; there is no national spirit. Consequently, China is the poorest and weakest country in the world, occupying the lowest position in international affairs. If we do not earnestly promote nationalism and weld together our four hundred millions into a strong nation, we face a tragedy—the loss of our country and the destruction of our race.

One of the greatest dangers to China is the rapid increase in population of other countries. During the last century, the United States has made an increase of 1,000 per cent; Britain, 300 per cent; Japan, 300 per cent; Russia, 400 per cent; Germany, 250 per cent; and France, 25 per cent. In China's case, her population has remained the same during the last two hundred years. The reason why other nations cannot seize China right away is simply because their population is yet smaller than China's. A hundred years hence, if their population increases and ours does not, the more will subjugate the less and China will inevitably be swallowed up. Then China will not only lose her sovereignty, but she will perish, the Chinese people will be assimilated, and the race will disappear.

**LECTURE 2:** If it were a matter merely of natural selection, our nation might survive; but evolution on this earth depends not on natural forces alone, it depends on a combination of



natural and human forces. Of these man-made forces the most potent are political forces and economic forces. They have a greater influence upon the rise and fall of nations than the forces of Nature. The next decade is the time of crisis for China. If during this period we can find some way to free China from her political and economic yoke, then our nation may have a chance to survive; otherwise, we are doomed to annihilation by the peoples of the Great Powers.

China has been under the political domination of the West for a century and has lost a huge amount of territory. We have lost Weihaiwei, Port Arthur, Dairen, Tsingtao, Kowloon, Kwangchowwan. Further back in history, our territorial losses were Korea, Formosa, the Pescadores and such places, which, as a result of the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895), were ceded to Japan. It was this war which started the "slicing of China" talk among the Powers. Still further back in the century, we lost Burma and Annam. Still earlier in the history of territorial losses were the Afur and Ussuri river basins and before that the areas north of the Ili, Khokand and Amur Rivers—the territory of the recent Far Eastern Republic. In addition there are those small countries which at one time paid tribute to China—the Liuchiu Islands, Siam, Borneo, the Sulu Archipelago, Java, Ceylon, Nepal, Bhutan.

After the Chinese Revolution, the Powers realized that it would be exceedingly difficult to dismember China by political force. A China which had learned how to revolt against the control of the Manchus would be sure some day to oppose the political control of the Powers. As this would put them in a difficult position, they are now reducing their political activities against China and are using economic pressure instead to keep us down. They are still using imperialism to forward their economic designs, and economic oppression is more severe than imperialism or political oppression.

As a result of foreign economic oppression, China is becoming a colony of the Powers. Many still think we are only a "semi-colony." In fact we are a "hypo-colony."

Other nations meet foreign economic pressure and check the invasion of economic forces from abroad by means of a tariff which protects economic development within these countries.

China's maritime customs are entirely in the hands of foreigners. The customs duties are fixed by the foreign Powers and China cannot freely alter them. Thus, China not only has no protective tariff, but the tariff is increased on native goods to protect foreign goods.

In money value of stolen rights and privileges we lose every year: first, through invasion of foreign goods, \$500,000,000; second, through the invasion of foreign paper money into our money market, along with foreign bank discounts on exchange and interest on our deposits, about \$100,000,000; third, through freight charges on our exports and imports, up to \$100,000,000; fourth, through taxes, rents, and land sales in the settlements and ceded areas, at least \$400,000,000 or \$500,000,000; fifth, through special privileges and private business of foreigners, \$100,000,000; sixth, through the speculation business and various other fleecing games, hundreds of millions. These six kinds of economic domination cost us an annual loss of not less than \$1,200,000,000.

If China cannot find a solution for these three pressing problems—pressure of foreign population increases, and foreign political and economic domination—then, no matter how large China's area or how great her population, another century will see our country gone and our race destroyed. Never before has China felt the weight of three such forces at one and the same time. For the future of the Chinese nation, we must find a way to break them.

**LECTURE 3:** The spirit of nationalism was practically dead during the Manchu dynasty, but it was kept alive among the lower classes through the organization of secret revolutionary societies. When the Manchus came from beyond the Great Wall to be masters of China, the loyal ministers and scholars of the Ming dynasty rose everywhere to oppose them. Even up to the first years of K'ang Hsi there was still armed resistance. Later, however, as the Ming veterans slowly passed off the stage, a group of intense nationalists conceived a plan to organize secret revolutionary societies. Just at that time K'ang Hsi inaugurated the *Po-hsueh Hung-tzu* examinations which caught almost all the remaining Ming scholars in the net of the Manchu government service. The thoughtful group among them saw that they could not depend upon the literati to keep alive the national spirit, so they turned to the lower strata of society. They

organized these people into groups and gave to them the spirit of nationalism to preserve and perpetuate. One of these secret societies was the *Hung Men San Ho Hui*. When Hung Hsiu-ch'uan, leader of the Taiping Rebellion, rose, the Hung Men Society responded, and nationalism flared up. After the fall of Hung Hsiu-ch'uan, the current of nationalism flowed on through the army and the vagrant class. The organization of the Hung Men Society was broken up by Tso Tsung-tang toward the end of the Manchu dynasty, so that at the time of the recent revolution we had no organized body to get hold of.

There are many reasons for this loss of our nationalism, of which the greatest is our subjection to alien races. For thousands of years China tried to effect a union of the world and had subjected all small states of Asia, but China's methods were not cruel as were the Europeans' methods. China used peaceful means to influence others and what was called the "royal way" to bring the weaker and small states under her rule. If we follow out this line of thought, we will begin to see why China has lost her national spirit. Cosmopolitanism is the same thing as China's theory of world empire two thousand years ago. It is a device developed in the West to camouflage imperialism. Those young students who prate about cosmopolitanism, saying that nationalism is out of date, might have some ground if they spoke for England and America or even for our forefathers, but if they think they are speaking for China today, we have no place for them.

Heaven's preservation of our four hundred millions of Chinese till now shows that it has not wanted to destroy us. Heaven evidently wants us to further the world's progress. If China perishes, she will perish at the hands of the Great Powers; those Powers will be thus obstructing the world's progress. If we want to resist Might we must unite our four hundred millions and join the twelve hundred fifty millions of oppressed people of the world. We must espouse nationalism and in the first instance attain our own unity, then we can consider others and help the weaker, smaller peoples to unite in a common struggle against the two hundred fifty millions of oppressors. Together we shall use Right to fight Might, and when Might is overthrown and the selfishly ambitious have disappeared, then we may talk about cosmopolitanism.

**LECTURE 4:** We want to revive China's lost nationalism and use the strength of our four hundred millions to fight for mankind against injustice. This is our divine mission. The Powers are afraid that we will have such thoughts and are setting forth a specious doctrine—cosmopolitanism—a doctrine supported by force without justice. We, the wronged races, must first recover our position of national freedom and equality before we are fit to discuss cosmopolitanism.

According to history, our forefathers constantly employed political force on weaker and smaller nations, but we were not guilty of economic suppression of other peoples. However, many small states in the South China Sea wanted to bring tribute and to adopt Chinese culture, giving voluntary adherence because of their admiration for our culture and not because of military pressure from China.

The Chinese are really the greatest lovers of peace in the world. Our four hundred millions are a most civilized race. The new theories which have flourished of late in Europe and which are called anarchism and communism are old things in China. What Russia has been putting into practice is not pure communism but Marxism. What Proudhon and Bakunin advocated is the only real communism. Communism was applied in China in the time of Hung Hsiu-ch'uan, whose economic system was the real thing in communism and not mere theory.

European superiority to China is not in political philosophy but altogether in the field of material civilization, which is something of the last two hundred years only. If we want to learn from Europe we should learn what we ourselves lack—science—but not political philosophy.

**LECTURE 5:** The loss of national spirit has been the cause of China's decline to her present state. We have been subjugated by other races, being governed by aliens for over two hundred years. Formerly we were slaves of the Manchus, now we are slaves of all nations and are suffering more than ever before. If we want to save China, we must first revive our nationalism. This can be done through awakening our four hundred millions to see where we stand. If the situation which I have described in my first four lectures is true, then we must keep clearly in mind our perilous position. The disasters which threaten us are from the Great Powers, and they are: First, political

oppression; second, economic oppression; and third, the more rapid growth of population among the Powers.

There are two ways in which political force can destroy a nation: through military power and through diplomacy. Japan has an army and navy that can rush straight and far at a moment's notice. She is not striking just yet; perhaps because the suitable time has not arrived. The United States is a most powerful nation. If China and the United States should sever diplomatic relations, the latter would need only a month after mobilization to be ready for attack, so that the United States could destroy China one month after a rupture. England has bases in Hongkong, India and Australia. If the land and sea forces of those colonies were employed, it would not take more than two months from the day of mobilization for them all to get to China. French troops could attack China within forty or fifty days.

This means that there is not a single one of the Powers but could, with military force, break up China. Why, then, has China survived till the present? Not because of any defensive strength of our own, but simply because all the Powers want to exploit China; all are watchfully waiting and each is unwilling to make concessions to the others. The strength of the various nations in China has become a balance of power, which makes it possible for China still to exist. The Great Powers still want to crush China, but they hesitate because of fear of precipitating another world war. Even if they could avoid conflict over the balancing of their other rights and privileges, the problem of governing China would certainly produce a clash.

Through diplomacy the Great Powers can also destroy China. The diplomats of the different countries need only meet in one place and sign a document. Poland's dismemberment at the hands of Russia, Germany and Austria was the consequence of one day's negotiation and agreement.

The second way of awakening our national spirit is to make use of the compact family and clan groups and sentiment of the Chinese people. If we are to recover our lost nationalism, we must have some kind of group unity, large group unity. An easy and successful way to bring about the unity of a large group is to build upon the foundation of small united groups, and the small units we can build upon in

China are the clan groups and also the family groups.

**LECTURE 6:** I have already discussed the chief cause for China's degeneration. If we want to revive our national spirit, we must fulfil two conditions. First, we must understand that we are in a perilous position; and second, knowing our danger, we must utilize China's ancient social groups, as the family and the clan, and consolidate them to form a great national body.

China was once an exceedingly powerful and civilized nation. China did not reach her former position of greatness by one road only. For the maintenance of a permanent standing, moral character is essential. As for China's old moral standards, they are not yet lost sight of by the people of China. First comes Loyalty and Filial Devotion, then Kindness and Love, then Faithfulness and Justice, then Harmony and Peace. The Chinese still speak of these ancient qualities of character. But since our domination by alien races and since the invasion of foreign culture, which has spread its influence all over China, a group of Chinese intoxicated with the new culture have begun to reject the old morality, saying that the former makes the latter unnecessary. They do not understand that we ought to preserve what is good in our past and throw away only the bad. China now is in a period of conflict between the old and new currents and a large number of our people have nothing to follow.

In former days loyalty was shown to princes. It was argued that since there are no princes in a democracy, loyalty is not needed and can be cast aside. Such an argument is certainly due to misunderstanding. We do not want princes in a democracy, but we cannot do without loyalty. Can we not direct loyalty towards the nation and towards the people? Filial devotion is even more a characteristic of China, and we have gone far beyond other nations in the practice of it.

It is still indispensable. Kindness and love are also part of China's high morality. Ancient China always spoke of faithfulness in dealing with neighboring countries and in intercourse with friends. With regard to justice, its application can be no better proved than by the fact that China in her mightiest days never utterly destroyed another state. China was a strong state for thousands of years and Korea lived on; Japan has been a strong state

for not over twenty years and Korea is already destroyed. China has one more splendid virtue—the love of harmony and peace. Among the states and the peoples of the world to-day, China alone preaches peace; other countries all talk in terms of war and advocate the overthrow of states by imperialism. Only in recent years, since the experience of many great wars and the huge, tragic death losses, have they begun to propose the abolition of war. Several peace conferences have been held, but the representatives of the various nations have met to discuss peace out of fear of war, out of a feeling of necessity rather than out of a natural desire on the part of all citizens for peace. The intense love of peace which the Chinese have had these thousands of years has been a natural disposition.

We must revise not only our old morality but also our old learning. China has a specimen of political philosophy so systematic and so clear that nothing has been discovered or spoken by foreign statesmen to equal it. It is found in the *Great Learning*: "Search into the nature of things, extend the boundaries of knowledge, make the purpose sincere, regulate the mind, cultivate personal virtue, rule the family, govern the state, pacify the world." This calls upon a man to develop from within outward, to begin with his inner nature and not cease until the world is at peace. Such a deep, all-embracing logic is not found in or spoken by any foreign political philosopher; it is the nugget of wisdom peculiar to China's philosophy of state and should be preserved.

In addition to our ancient learning there are likewise our ancient powers. Things like the compass, printing press, porcelain ware, and smokeless powder were all first invented in China. In the field of human food and clothing, shelter and communication, China has also contributed many discoveries for the use of mankind. China discovered tea and silk, the arched doorway and the suspension bridge. If we can reproduce the best of our national heritage just as it was in the time of our forefathers when China dominated the world, we will still need to learn the strong points of Europe and America before we can progress at an equal rate with them. If we want to learn from the West, we will have to catch up with the advance line and not chase from behind. In the study of science, for instance, this will

mean the saving of two hundred years. Japan is a good example. Her culture was formerly copied from China, but recently through learning European and American civilization, she has become, within a few decades, one of the world's great Powers. I do not think that our intellectual powers are below those of the Japanese, and it should be easier for us now than for Japan then to learn from the West.

If we want China to rise to power, we must not only restore our national standing, but we must also assume a great responsibility toward the world.

### MIN-CHUAN CHU I (THE PRINCIPLE OF PEOPLE'S RIGHTS)

**LECTURE 1:** Any unified and organized body of men is called a "people," and power to execute orders and to regulate public conduct is called "sovereignty." When "people" and "sovereignty" are linked together, we have the political power of the people. Government is a thing of the people and by the people. It is control of the affairs of all the people. The power of control is political sovereignty and where the people control the government we speak of the "people's rights."

The two major functions of "people's rights" are protection and sustenance. Protection means self-defense, and sustenance means seeking food. The struggle of the human race may be divided into several periods. The first period was one of struggle between man and beast in which man employed physical strength rather than any kind of power. In the second period man fought with nature and called divine powers to his aid. In the third period man came into conflict with man, states with states, races with races, and autocratic power was the chief weapon. We are now in the fourth period, of war within states, when the people are battling against their monarchs and kings. The issue is between good and evil, between right and might, and as the power of the people is steadily increasing we may call this the age of the people's rights—the age of democracy.

Is China today ripe for democracy? In the last thirteen years, through periods of order and of disorder, China has been nothing but autocracy. But if we base our judgment upon the intelligence and the ability of the Chinese people, we come to the conclusion that



the sovereignty of the people would be far more suitable for us.

The first instance of actual democracy in modern times was in England—Cromwell's Revolution in the 17th century. A hundred years later the American Revolution took place. Ten years after the establishment of the American Republic the French Revolution occurred.

The most important work of Rousseau, whose democratic theories generated the French Revolution, was his Social Contract. His theory is that man is born with rights of freedom and equality, rights which were endowed by Nature and which he has thrown away. But as we study the evolution of history, we see that democracy has not been Heaven-born but has been wrought out of the conditions of the times and the movement of events. We can find no facts in the evolution of the human race to bear out Rousseau's philosophy. Nevertheless, Rousseau's advocacy of the original idea of democracy was one of the greatest contributions to political science in all history.

If we observe the steady progress of the world from many angles, we are assured that the day of democracy is here; and that, no matter what disappointments and defeats democracy may meet, it will maintain itself for a long time to come upon the earth. Thirty years ago, therefore, we follow revolutionists firmly resolved that, if we wanted China to be strong and our revolution to be effective, we must espouse the cause of democracy. We have chosen democracy so that first we may be following the world current, and second, that we may reduce the period of civil war. From ancient times in China, men of great ambition have all wanted to be king. The Taiping Rebellion failed because of struggle among its leaders for the throne. Chen Chiung-ming revolted against the revolutionary cause in 1922 also because he wanted to be an emperor. Foreign countries have had wars over religion and wars over freedom, but China in her thousands of years had but one kind of war, the war for the throne. In order to avert further civil war, we, as soon as we have launched our revolution, proclaimed that we wanted a republic and not a monarchy.

**LECTURE 2:** Foreign scholars always associate democracy with liberty and many foreign books and essays discuss the two side by side. The peoples of Europe and America have warred and

struggled for little else besides liberty, these past two or three hundred years and as a result, democracy is beginning to flourish. The watchword of the French Revolution was "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity," just as the watchword of our Revolution is "*Min-t's'u, Min-ch'uan, Min-sheng*" (People's Nationalism, People's Rights, People's Livelihood.) We may say that liberty, equality, and fraternity are based upon the people's rights or that the people's rights develop out of liberty, equality, and fraternity.

Liberty means the freedom to move about as one wishes within an organized group. Because China does not have a word to convey this idea, everyone has been at a loss to appreciate it. In their wars, Westerners extolled liberty to the skies and made it sacred; they even made a saying like: "Give me liberty or give me death" their battle cry. As I said to you last time, we are now in the age of democracy. The term "democracy" comes from an old Greek word. Even now Westerners are not very much interested in the term "democracy" and think of it more or less as a technical term in political science; it is far from being the matter of life and death which liberty has been.

The Chinese respond to "making a fortune" because China now is bankrupt and her people are poor. The peoples of the West sought liberty because of the extremes to which autocracy had developed. After the fall of the Roman Empire, the feudal system came into existence. The feudal lords all held autocratic power and the whole system of government was far more despotic than the feudal regime during the Chou dynasty. In China down the centuries the people had little direct relation to the emperor beyond paying him the annual grain tax and nothing more.

Because revolutions in Europe were struggles for liberty, many Chinese students and earnest scholars have risen up to proclaim liberty too. This is nothing but "saying what others say." When we think about that "bed of loose sand" we realize that the Chinese have had a great measure of liberty. Because we have so much of it, nobody pays any attention to it, not even to the name for it.

Europeans and Americans risked their lives in the battles for liberty a hundred and fifty years ago, because liberty was rare for them. When nations like France and the United States won liberty, they became pioneers in demo-

cratic government. Yet even in these countries, is everybody free? Many classes, such as students, soldiers, officials, and persons under twenty years of age, who have not reached maturity, do not have liberty. The students of China, having absorbed these ideas of liberty and having no other place to practise them, gave expression to them in their schools. Student insurrections and strikes followed under the dignified guise of fighting for "liberty." This is abuse of freedom.

The struggle of the Europeans for liberty was a great passion that has since cooled; this shows that liberty has both good and bad features and is not a holy thing. If foreigners say that we are a "bed of loose sand," we will acknowledge the truth because we have excessive individual liberty. Therefore, the aims of the Chinese Revolution are different from the aims in foreign revolutions, and the methods we use must also be different. The individual should not have too much liberty, but the nation should have complete liberty. When the nation can act freely, then China may be called strong. To make the nation free, we must each sacrifice our personal freedom.

If we want to restore China's liberty, we must unite ourselves into one unshakable body; we must use revolutionary methods to weld our state into a firm unity. Without revolutionary principles we shall never succeed. Our revolutionary principles are the cement. If we can consolidate our four hundred millions and form a mighty union and make the nation free, the Chinese state will be free and the Chinese people will be really free.

**LECTURE 3:** *Min-chuan*, the people's rights, is the second part of our revolutionary watchword and corresponds to equality in the French watchword. The word "equality" is usually associated with "liberty." The Europeans felt that if they could secure liberty, they would certainly attain to equality, and that if they did not become equal, there was no way to manifest their freedom.

What is equality and whence does it come? The revolutionary philosophy of Europe and America spoke of liberty and equality as something bestowed by Nature upon man. In tracing the history of people's rights from the primitive age millions of years ago down to the modern democratic period, we did not

discover any principle of natural human equality.

Nature originally did not make man equal; but when autocracy developed among mankind, the despotic kings and princes pushed human differences to an extreme, and the result was an inequality far worse than Nature's inequality. Because of artificial ranks—emperor or king, prince, duke, marquis, earl, viscount, baron, and people—the specially privileged classes became excessively cruel and iniquitous, while the oppressed people, unable to contain themselves, finally broke into rebellion and warred upon inequality. But those in high stations of emperor or king all assumed a divine appointment as a shield of their office. They said that they had received their special position from God and that the people who opposed them would be opposing God. So the scholars supporting the revolution had to invent the theory of Nature-bestowed rights of equality and liberty in order to overthrow the despotism of kings.

After the fall of emperors and kings, the people began to believe firmly in the theory of natural equality, and kept on working day after day to make all men equal. They did not know that such a thing is impossible. If we force an equality upon human society, that equality would be a false one. Equal position in human society is something to start with; each man builds up his career upon this start according to his natural endowment of intelligence and ability. This brings us to the only principle of equality.

When we speak of democracy and equality but yet want the world to advance, we are talking about political equality. For equality is an artificial not a natural thing, and the only equality which we can create is equality in political status. After the revolution, we want every man to have an equal political standing.

In the revolutions of Europe, the people spent much effort and made untold sacrifices in their struggle for equality and liberty, because the situation which existed under European despotism before the days of revolution was far more serious than the situation in China has ever been. The European emperors, kings, princes, dukes, marquises, and other nobles are hereditary. No one ever changed from his inherited vocation. The occupations of the common people were also

hereditary. They could never do anything else.

Since the break-up of the feudal system in China, these professional barriers for the common people have been entirely destroyed. Thus while China along with foreign countries has had a class system and a system of inequality, yet China has had the advantage, since only the emperor's rank was hereditary. As for dukes and other nobles, these titles were changed from one generation to another. Many commoners have become ministers of state or have been appointed princes and nobles. These were not hereditary offices.

Europe's autocracy, however, was much more severe. The people underwent unbearable sufferings, so they agitated for equality. This agitation produced the three revolutions of the past three centuries—the first in England, the second in America, the third in France. The American and French revolutions succeeded; the English revolution can be counted as a failure, and consequently the English political system has not yet changed very greatly. The English overthrew the throne and killed the king, but in less than ten years the monarchy was restored. Now just six years ago Russia staged a revolution, also overthrowing her class system and becoming a republic. Russia has levelled down not only political classes but also all the capitalist classes of society.

Equality, however, has been abused in the West. China cannot afford to follow in the footsteps of the Western nations and fight only for equality. We must fight for democracy. If democracy prevails, we shall have true equality; if democracy languishes, we can never have equality. Although Nature produces men with varying intelligence and ability, yet the human heart has continued to hope that all men might be equal. This is the highest of moral ideals and mankind should earnestly strive towards it. We must seek a fundamental solution, effect a revolution, overthrow autocracy, lift up democracy, and level inequalities.

**LECTURE 4:** Today I want to speak about the measure of people's rights which the Europeans and Americans have won and the progress which they have made in democracy during the last two or three hundred years. Democratic ideas have already spread to China and are making their impression upon the Chinese people through current books and newspapers. But there is a

wide divergence between the Western democracy which we find in books and that which we see in actual practice. People in the United States and France have not yet attained to perfect democracy.

After the successful issue of their War of Independence against Great Britain, the American revolutionaries began to differ in their opinion as to the kind of government they wanted. One group led by Hamilton proposed that the political power of the state should not be given entirely to the people, but should be centralized in the government, while another group led by Jefferson said that the people should have complete rights. The fight was long and bitter. Finally, the Federalists who advocated the limitation of popular sovereignty won out, the states got together, formed a federal union and promulgated the Constitution of the United States. From the beginning of the Republic until now, the United States has used this constitution, which divides clearly the legislative, judicial and executive powers of the government.

During the last decade a group of Chinese intellectuals and scholars have been proposing that China, in order to be wealthy and strong like the United States, must also form a federal union. What they did not know is that the thirteen American colonies had been entirely separate and therefore had to unite in order to form a single nation. If we want to follow the United States' federal plan, we would have to divide our already united country into numerous independent units and then weld them together again. The present want of unity in China is but a temporary phenomenon of disorder, the result of the grasping of domains by militarists. We must do away with this state of affairs first.

The Constitution of the United States was a document of compromise. The important political powers which belong to the central government were clearly defined in the constitution; matters not regulated by the constitution were left to local governments. Matters of detail not delegated by the constitution to the central government were left to the individual states to regulate. What rights did the people obtain out of this compromise?—Only a limited suffrage. The suffrage was at first limited to the election of congressmen and of various state and local officials. Later, it was enlarged until today the

president, the senators, and all state and local officials who have any direct important relation with the people are elected by the people.

The evolution in the United States from limited to universal suffrage was very gradual. Only a decade or two ago women still did not have the right to vote. But seven or eight years ago, the women of Great Britain, and not long afterwards, the women of the United States, won the right of suffrage. The cause was the European War, during which women were called upon to fill men's jobs, and then those who had opposed women's suffrage, saying that women could not do the work of men, were stripped of their arguments and no longer dared to thwart the movement.

Like the American War of Independence, the French Revolution also set up democracy as its goal. The French people experimented with complete democracy only to find that this led to mob tyranny. When the people secured complete power, they no longer wanted leaders and they put to death many of the wise and able ones. Then there was a reaction against democracy and France became a monarchy again. Since the French Revolution, small countries of Europe, like Denmark, Holland, Spain, and Portugal have almost unconsciously developed democratic movements. In England, though the revolution had failed, the people began to have more and more rights.

The newest theories of democracy owe their real origin, however, to Germany. Up to the time of the European War these had not produced as much fruit as in France or Great Britain. Socialism was originally closely related to democracy, and the greatest socialist thinkers in the world have been Germans. Bismarck, who was then in power in Germany, knew that socialism could not be suppressed by political force, so he put into effect a kind of state socialism as an antidote against the Marxian socialists' program.

Tracing the beginnings of applied democracy, we see the American people after their revolution winning first the right to vote. At that time Westerners thought that democracy meant suffrage and that was all. Recently, the people of Switzerland have won, in addition, the rights of initiative and referendum. Some of the newly developed states in the northwestern part of the United States have, in recent years, gained still another right—the right of recalling

officials. Although the enjoyment of this right is not universal throughout the United States, yet several states have practised it, so many Americans enjoy the four popular rights—suffrage, recall, initiative and referendum. Some day, they may be applied throughout the United States and perhaps throughout the world.

When we use Western history as material for study, we are not copying the West entirely or following in its path. We will use our Principle of People's Rights, and remake China into a nation under complete popular rule, ahead of Europe and America.

**LECTURE 5:** In 1900 the Boxers, whose original aim was to drive all Western influence out of China, engaged in war with allied forces of eight nations and the weapons they used were big swords. They were the last Chinese to believe that their arms and strength could resist the new civilization from the West. Since then Chinese thinkers have felt that to make China strong and able to avenge the shame of the Peking Protocol, they must imitate foreign countries in everything. That the West has advanced far beyond China in the physical sciences cannot be denied. But how much has the West advanced beyond China in the matter of government?

In the past two or three hundred years, Europe and America have passed through many revolutions and their political progress has been much more rapid than China's, yet the Western political treatises do not show much advance upon the past. For instance, there lived in Greece two thousand years ago a great political philosopher named Plato; his *Republic* is still studied by scholars who say that it has much to contribute towards the political systems of today. The material civilization of the West is changing daily, and political thought in the West has advanced much more slowly. The reason why Western democracy has not made more progress is because Western nations have not fundamentally solved the problem of administering democracy.

For thousands of years Chinese social sentiments, customs and habits have differed widely from those of Western society. Hence, methods of social control in China are different from those used in the West and we should not merely copy the use of their machinery. Though Western democracy has not reached a perfect stage of development, yet many Western scholars are putting much time upon the study of democracy and are



constantly bringing forth new theories. One of the newest has been proposed by an American scholar who says that the greatest fear of modern democratic states is an all-powerful government which the people have no way of checking, but yet the finest thing would be an all-powerful government working for the welfare of all the people. Therefore, democratic countries must find a solution for this difficulty. No solution will be possible until the people change their attitude towards the government.

I have thought of a method to solve the problem. It is a new discovery in political theory—namely, a distinction should be made between sovereignty and ability. To make clear what I mean, I must first review my theory as to the classes of human society. I classified mankind into three groups. The first group includes those who see and perceive first. They are the people of superior wisdom, vision and foresight. They are the creators, the discoverers of mankind. The second group include those who see and perceive later. Their intelligence and ability are below the standard of the first group. They can only follow and imitate, learning from what the first group have already done. Those in the third group do not see or perceive. They have a still lower grade of intelligence and ability and do not understand even though one tries to teach them. They simply act. In the language of political movements, members of the first group are the discoverers; of the second group, the promoters; of the third group, the operators.

The progress of the world depends on these three types, and not one type must be lacking. The nations of the world, as they begin to apply democracy and to reform the government, should give a part to every man—to the man who sees first, to the man who sees later, to the man who does not see. We must realize that political democracy is not given to us by Nature. It is created by human effort. We must create democracy and then give it to the people, not wait to give it until the people fight for it.

In ancient days political sovereignty used to be entirely in the hands of the emperor and had nothing to do with the people. Today we who advocate democracy want to put political power into the hands of the people. Since China has had a revolution and has adopted a democratic form of government, the

people should rule in all matters. The government now may be called popular government; in other words, under a republic we make the people king. But the people must put the important affairs of the nation in the hands of capable men. The people are the owners; they must be sovereign. The government are specialists; they must be men of ability and skill.

The hostility of Western peoples to their governments is due to their failure to separate sovereignty from ability, and consequently they have not yet cleared up the difficulties of democracy. We know a way how to make use of democracy and we know how to change the attitude of people towards government, but yet the majority of the people are without vision. We who have prevision must lead them and guide them into the right way if we want to escape the confusion of Western democracy and not follow in the tracks of the West. The foundation of the government of a nation must be built upon the rights of the people, but the administration of government must be entrusted to experts.

**LECTURE 6:** Western statesmen and students of jurisprudence now speak of government as machinery and of law as an instrument. But there are great differences between political and manufacturing machinery. Political machinery is moved by human forces, while manufacturing machinery is moved by material forces. Material machinery can be easily tried out and bad features discarded. But human machinery is not easily experimented with and improvements are not all easily made, except through revolution. The only other way would be to treat it as scrap iron, as we do old material machinery, but this is manifestly impossible. In two former lectures, I said that Westerners had not yet found a fundamental method for carrying out democratic government. This is because they have not experimented carefully and skillfully with their political machinery.

The machinery of democratic government has not been altered in one hundred years, and the democracy in practice in various countries is simply the right to vote. There has been no advance beyond this for a long time. If we want to improve the machinery, we must make a clear distinction between sovereignty and ability. Our modern democratic age looks upon the people as the motive power in government.

The fear of powerful governments among Western peoples today is just like the fear of powerful machinery in the old factories. If the people in the control of their governments will make a distinction between sovereignty and ability or power, they will be like the engineer who controls a great machine.

There are two forces in politics, the political power of the people and the administrative power of the government. One is the power of control, and the other is the power of the government itself. After China secures a powerful government, we must not be afraid, as Western peoples are, that the government will become too strong and get away from our control. Our plan for the reconstructed state includes the division of the political power of the whole state into two parts. The political power will be given into the hands of the people, who will have a full degree of sovereignty and will be able to control directly the affairs of state; this political power is popular sovereignty. The other power is government and we will put that entirely in the government organs, which will be powerful and will manage all the nation's business; this power is the power of government. If the people have a full measure of political sovereignty and the methods for exercising popular control over the government are well worked out, we need not fear that the government will become too powerful and uncontrollable.

What are the newest discoveries in the way of applying democracy? First, there is suffrage. The second is the right of recall. These two rights, the right to elect and the right to recall, give the people control over their officials. The third is the right of initiative. If all the people think that a certain law would be of great advantage to the people, they should have the right to decide upon this law and turn it over to the government for execution. The fourth is the right of referendum. If everybody thinks that an old law is not beneficial to the people, they should have the right to amend it and to ask the government to administer the revised law and do away with the old law. Only when the people have these four rights can we say that there is democracy.

In order that the government may have a complete organ through which to do its best work, there must be a quintuple-power constitution. This constitution contains five powers—executive, legislative, judicial, examination, and

control. With these nine powers—four in the hands of the people and five in the government—in operation and preserving a balance, the problem of democracy will be solved and the government will have a definite course to follow.

Foreign governments have never exercised more than three powers—legislative, executive, and judicial. The two new features in our quintuple-power constitution come from old China. China long ago had the independent systems of examination and impeachment and they were very effective. In Chinese political history, the three governmental powers—judicial, legislative, and executive—were vested in the emperor. The other powers of examination and impeachment were separate from the throne. Even during the period of autocratic government in China, the emperor did not have sole authority over the power of examination and impeachment. If we now want to combine the best from China and the best from other countries and guard against all kinds of abuse in the future, we must take the three Western governmental powers—the executive, legislative, and judicial—add to them the old Chinese powers of examination and impeachment and make a finished wall, a quintuple-power government. Such a government will be the most complete and the finest in the world, and a state with such a government will indeed be for the people, by the people, and for the people.

#### MIN-SHENG CHU I (THE PRINCIPLE OF PEOPLE'S LIVELIHOOD)

**LECTURE 1:** By *Min-sheng* (the People's Livelihood) I mean the livelihood of the people, the existence of society, the welfare of the nation, the life of the masses. I shall also use the term "*Min Sheng*" to describe one of the greatest problems that has emerged in the West during the past century or more—socialism.

Candidly speaking, the problem of people's livelihood arose with the invention of machinery and with the gradual substitution of natural power for human labor in the most civilized nations. As a result, a great number of men suddenly lost their occupations and were unable to get work or to obtain food. Westerners have called this great change the Industrial Revolution. It is this social problem that I am discussing today in the Principle of Livelihood.

The terms "socialism" and "communism" are now used synonymously in the

West. Although their methods may vary, socialism is often used to describe both theories. Socialism deals with social and economic questions and with the problem of human subsistence or livelihood. In using the term "Principle of Livelihood" instead of "socialism," my prime purpose is to strike at the root of the social problem and to reveal its real nature, also to make it possible for people to understand the term as soon as they hear it.

After the Industrial Revolution, the number of people studying social problems increased. The one man who made the most profound and rewarding study is Marx. Before Marx set forth his theories, socialism had been highly speculative. Marx, however, began with facts and with history, and made a radical and thorough exposition of the changes in the economic phase of the social questions. After Marx, the socialist movement divided into two groups—the Utopian socialists and the scientific socialists. The former would reform society and make a peaceful and happy state simply out of their imagination, while the latter advocated the use of scientific methods in solving social problems.

Marx worked out the theory that all human activity upon the globe which has been preserved in written records for succeeding generations can be called history; and all human history, viewed in this way, gravitates about material forces. This latter point was the new emphasis which Marx gave to history. If the material basis of life changes, the world also changes; human behavior, moreover, is determined by the material environment, and so the history of human civilization is the story of adaptation to material environment. Marx's materialistic conception of history was based upon such thorough study and such perfect reasoning that many who had opposed it now endorse it.

Marx discovered that history gravitates about material forces. Was his principle correct or not? After a few years of experiment with it, many people are saying that the principle is wrong. What, then, is the central force in history? Our Kuomintang has been advocating the *Min-sheng* Principle for over twenty years. We have not championed socialism but the *Min-sheng* Principle. Are the spheres of these two doctrines in any way related?

Recently, an American disciple of Marx, Maurice Williams, after making a deep study of Marx's philosophy, set

forth the view that the materialistic conception of history is wrong; that the social problem, not material forces, is the center which determines the course of history, and that subsistence is the heart of the social problem. This social interpretation of history, he believes, is the only reasonable one. The problem of livelihood is the problem of subsistence. Williams' theory tallies with the *Min-sheng* Principle.

The large-scale production of modern times is made possible by labor and machinery, by the cooperation of capital and machinery together with the employment of labor. According to Marx, the benefits of this large-scale production are reaped largely by the capitalists, whereas the workers enjoy but a small fraction of the benefits. Consequently, the interests of capitalists and of workers are constantly clashing and when no solution of the difficulty is found, a class war breaks out. Marx held the view that class war did not originate with the industrial revolution; all past history is a story of class struggle—between masters and slaves, between landlords and serfs, between nobles and common people; in a word, between all kinds of oppressors and oppressed. Only when the social revolution is completely successful, will these warring classes be no more. It is evident that Marx considered class war essential to social progress, the driving force, in fact, of social progress. He made class war the cause and social progress the effect.

Let us look at recent facts in the development of social progress to see whether this principle of cause and effect is really a law of social progress. The details would make a complicated story, but to summarize briefly: Recent economic progress in the West has taken four forms—social and industrial reform, public ownership of means of transportation and communications, direct taxation, and socialized distribution. These four practices have all evolved through the method of reform, and we should see more reforms and increasing improvements as time goes on. They are overthrowing old systems and giving rise to new ones. It is the constant emergence of new systems that makes constant progress possible.

Best of all has been the development of socialized distribution which destroys the monopoly of tradesmen. Heavier taxes on income and inheritance of capitalists increases the wealth of the state and enables the state to take over

means of transportation and communication, to improve the education and the health of workers and equipment within the factories, and to increase the productivity of society. When production is large and products are rich, the capitalists naturally make fortunes and the workers receive high wages. Here is a reconciliation of the interests of capitalists and workers, rather than a conflict between them. Society progresses, then, through the adjustment of major economic interests rather than through the clash of interests. Class war is not the cause of social progress, it is a disease developed in the course of social progress. The cause of the disease is the inability to subsist, and the result of the disease is war. What Marx gained through his studies of social problems was a knowledge of diseases in the course of social progress. Therefore, Marx can only be called a social pathologist; we cannot say that he is a social physiologist.

In his theory of "surplus value" Marx gave all the credit for it to the labor of the industrial workers. He overlooked the fact that "surplus value" is the fruit not only of labor within the factories but of many useful and powerful factors in society, working directly or indirectly and making a large or small contribution towards its production. Marx's assumption that class struggle is a cause of social progress puts effect before cause. Because of this confusion in source ideas, Marx's theory has not been borne out and has sometimes been directly contradicted by subsequent facts in social history.

Marx believed that as capitalism flourished, competition within the system would become severer, the large capitalists would be sure to swallow up the smaller capitalists, and finally only two classes would be left in society—the extremely wealthy capitalists and the extremely poor workers. When capitalism had reached its peak, it would break up rapidly of its own accord and a socialist state would be established. In Marx's judgment, the highly capitalistic states had already reached the period of dissolution, and so a revolution would rise immediately. But Western history in the seventy-odd years since Marx has directly contradicted his theory.

Again, according to Marx, if the capitalists want a large surplus value, they must fulfil three conditions—reduce wages, lengthen the working day, and raise the price of the manufac-

tured product. That these three conditions are illogical we can prove from the greatest money-making industry of modern times. In the Ford factories the workers work eight hours a day, receive a daily wage of five dollars gold, while more important workers earn higher wages. In addition the factories provide recreation and health facilities, and give insurance against accident and old age to all the workers. Yet the factories make scores of millions of dollars of profit every year, and have reduced the prices of their product.

Livelihood is the center of government, the center of economics, the centre of all historical movements. We can no longer say that material issues are the central force of history. We must let the political, social, and economic movements of history gravitate about the problem of livelihood. When we have made a thorough investigation of this central problem, then we can find a way to a solution of the social problem.

**LECTURE 2:** The Kuomintang some-time ago in its Party platform settled upon two methods by which the *Min Sheng* Principle is to be carried out. The first method is equalization of landownership and the second is the control of private capital. If we follow these two methods we can solve the livelihood problem in China.

The Marxians would solve all social questions by a dictatorship of the proletariat and all political and economic problems by revolution. They are the radical group. Another group of socialists advocates peaceful methods and the use of political action and negotiation. These two factions are in constant and severe conflict in Europe and America and each has its own line of action. Our own experience shows that the revolutionary method was completely successful only so far as the political problem went; it cannot be said to have wholly solved the economic problem.

When Russia first started the Revolution, she was hoping to settle the social question; the political question was secondary. The Revolution resulted, however, in a solution of the political question but no solution of the social question. Such facts have led the anti-Marx faction to say that Russia's experiment with Marx's methods have been a failure. The Marxians, however, retorted that Russia has not been defeated in her use of revolutionary methods of social reform, but that Russia's industry



and commerce are not so highly developed as those in other European nations and that Russia's economic organization is immature; consequently she cannot successfully apply Marx's methods. But they certainly could be applied, they say, in a highly industrialized and commercialized nation where economic organization has reached a mature stage. They would meet with sure success in other Western nations, and bring about fundamental social reconstruction.

In working for a solution of our social problems, we must ground ourselves on facts and not trust to mere theories. What are these basic facts in China? All of us have a share in the distressing poverty of the Chinese people. There is no especially rich class, there is only a general poverty. The "inequalities between rich and poor" which the Chinese speak of are only differences within the poor class, differences in degree of poverty. As a matter of fact, the great capitalists of China, in comparison with the great foreign capitalists, are really poor; the rest of the people are extremely poor. How can we equalize this condition so that there will be no more extreme poverty?

The process of social change and capitalistic development usually begins with the landowners, and from the landowners goes on to the merchant and finally to the capitalist. Landowners arose out of the feudal system. Although China broke away from the feudal system two thousand years ago, yet because of the lack of industrial and commercial progress, social conditions now are just about what they were at that time. Although China has not had large landowners up to the present, yet she has had many small landowners. Both in Shanghai and in Canton, the land value has gone up tremendously. Chinese land has only to come under Western economic influence to transform its owners into millionaires like capitalists of the West. In order to remedy the situation the Kuomintang must, as a matter of foresight and of precaution against future difficulties, find a solution of this problem of fluctuation in land values.

It was because the people in the community chose a certain section as an industrial and commercial center and made their improvements upon it that land values in this section began to rise. This proves that rise in land values should be credited to all the people and to their efforts; the landowner himself

has nothing to do with the rise and the fall. So foreign scholars speak of the increased price of land as "unearned increment."

The methods for the solution of the land problem are different in various countries, and each country has its own peculiar difficulties. The plan which we are following is simple and easy—the equalization of landownership. China does not have big landowners, and the power of the small landowners is still rather weak. If we attack the problem now, we can solve it; but if we lose the present opportunity, we can never find a way out.

What is our policy? We propose that the government shall buy back the land, if necessary, according to the amount of land tax and the price of the land. The landowner reports the value of his land to the government and the government levies a land tax accordingly. Meanwhile, the government makes two regulations: First, that it will collect taxes according to the declared value of the land; second, that it can also buy back the land at the same price. According to this plan, if the landowner makes a low assessment he will be afraid lest the government buy back his land at that value and make him lose his property; if he makes too high an assessment, he will be afraid of the government taxes according to this value and his loss through heavy taxes. The landowner will not want to report the value of his land too high or too low; he will strike a mean and report the true market price to the government. As a result, neither the government nor the landowner will lose.

After the land values have been fixed, we should have a regulation by law that from that year on, all increase in land values, which in other countries means heavier taxation, shall revert to the community. This is because the increase in land values is due to improvements made by society and to the progress of industry and commerce. The credit for the improvement and progress belongs to the energy and business activity of all the people and not merely to a few private individuals. This proposal that all future increment shall be given to the community is the "equalization of landownership" advocated by the Kuomintang. It is a very different thing from what is called in the West "nationalization of property," confiscation for the government's use of private property which the people already possess.

Our plan provides that land now fixed in value shall still be privately owned.

Speaking of taxing or buying back land according to its value, we must make clear one important point. Land value refers only to the value of the bare land; it does not include improvements made by human labor or construction work upon the surface. These things will have to be paid for in case the land is bought back by the government.

If we want to solve the livelihood problem in China, it will not be enough to depend upon the control of private capital. Yes, private capital must be controlled, but China must also develop state capital. Our present disunion is only a temporary state of affairs. In the future we shall certainly become united, and then to solve the livelihood problem we shall have to develop capital and promote industry. First, we must begin to build means of communication, railroads and waterways, on a large scale. Second, we must open up mines. Third, we must hasten to foster manufacturing.

Although China has a multitude of workers, yet she has no machinery and so cannot compete with other nations. Goods used throughout China depend upon other countries for manufacture and transportation hither, and consequently our economic rights and interests are simply leaking away. If we want to recover these rights and interests, we must quickly employ state power to promote industry, use machinery in production, and give employment to the workers of the whole nation. If we do not use state power to build up these enterprises but leave them in the hands of private Chinese or of foreign businessmen, the result will be simply the expansion of private capital and the emergence of a great wealthy class with consequent inequalities in society.

In working out our *Min-sheng* Principle we cannot use or apply in China the methods of Marx. The reason for this is obvious. Russia has been trying to apply Marx's methods since the Revolution until now, yet she wants to change to a new economic policy, because the economic life of her society has not reached the standard of economic life in Great Britain or the United States, and is not ripe for the application of Marx's methods. If Russia's economic standards are below those of Great Britain or the United States, how could China's economic standards possibly be high enough for the application of Marx's methods? Even Marx's disciples

say that we cannot use his methods for the solution of all social problems in China.

China has never had any great capitalists. If the state can control and develop capital and give the benefits to all the people, it will be easy to avoid the conflicts with capitalists. The United States has developed capital in three ways: Through railroads, through manufacturing, and through mining. We shall not be able to promote one of these three great industries by our own knowledge and experience or with our own capital. We cannot but depend on the already created capital of other countries. If we wait until we ourselves have enough capital before we start to promote industry, the process of development will be exceedingly slow.

**Lecture 3:** The chief problem for the *Min-sheng* Principle is the food problem. The United States now leads the world in food supply. Other countries, like Australia, Canada, and Argentina in South America depend upon food as a great source of national wealth. While some countries produce enough food for themselves, many do not. The British Isles, for example, only raise food sufficient for three months' consumption out of the whole year. Japan can supply her own people with food for eleven months out of the year. Germany's food supply is sufficient for ten months' use. It was food difficulty which caused Germany's defeat in the European War. You can see why the food problem of an entire nation is of such serious consequence.

Today, China's populace is poverty-stricken. What is the true status of the food problem? Nowhere in China is there enough food for the people. Every year tens of thousands die of starvation. This is an estimate of ordinary years; when floods and famines come, a far greater number perish with hunger. According to reliable foreign investigations, China at present does not really have more than 310,000,000 people. Several decades ago we had a population of 400,000,000. The decrease is due to food shortage. There are many reasons why she does not have an adequate food supply; the main reason is the lack of progress in agricultural science and the next reason is foreign economic domination.

In my lecture on Nationalism, I described the economic forces with which foreign countries are oppressing China. Every year they rob China of rights

and privileges worth \$1,200,000,000. How is it paid over to foreign countries? Is the loss all in money? No, part of the loss is in food. Three years ago there was a severe drought in North China; along the Peking-Hankow and Peking-Mukden railways people were dying by the thousands. Yet at the same time huge quantities of wheat and beans were being shipped out of Newchwang and Dairen. Why? Because of foreign economic domination; China had no money to send abroad, so had to starve herself and send her grain. No wonder China's food problem is unsolved! When we speak of the *Min-sheng* Principle we mean that we want our four hundred millions all to have food and very cheap food; only when there is abundant, cheap food can we say that the livelihood problem is solved.

We daily depend upon four most important kinds of food to nourish our life. They are air, water, animal food and plant food. The fourth and most important means of subsistence is plant food. Only after man had made great progress in seeking a living did he know how to eat plant food. If we want to solve the problem of plant food, we must first study the question of production. Since the production of food in China depends upon the peasants, since the peasants have to toil so bitterly, we must have the government make regulations by law for the protection of the peasants if we want to increase the production of food.

A large majority of the people in China are peasants, at least nine out of every ten, yet the food which they raise with such wearisome labor is mostly taken away by the landowners. What they themselves can keep is barely sufficient to keep them alive. This is a most unjust situation. We must make laws regarding the rights and interests of the farmers. We must give them encouragement and protection and allow them to keep more of the fruit of their land. The protection of the farmers' rights and the giving to them of a larger share in their harvests are questions related to the question of the equalization of land ownership.

Although China does not have great landowners, yet nine out of ten farmers do not own their fields. Most of the farming land is in the possession of landlords who do not do the cultivating themselves. We must immediately use government power and law to remedy this grave situation. Unless we can

solve the agrarian problem, there will be no solution for the livelihood problem. Of the food produced in the fields, sixty per cent, according to our latest rural surveys, goes to the landlord, while only forty per cent goes to the farmer.

In dealing with agricultural production, we should study not only this question of liberating the peasants but also the seven methods of increasing production. These methods are: Use of machinery, use of fertilizers, rotation of crops, eradication of pests, manufacturing, transportation, and prevention of natural disasters. In addition, we must also lay emphasis on the question of distribution. Equitable methods of distribution are impossible under a system of private capital.

The fundamental difference between the *Min-sheng* Principle and capitalism is this: Capitalism makes profit its sole aim, while the *Min-sheng* Principle makes the nurture of the people its aim. With such a noble principle, we can destroy the old, evil capitalistic system. But in applying the *Min-sheng* Principle for the solution of China's food problems, we can make only gradual changes in the capitalistic system; we must not try to overthrow it immediately.

Economists have always spoken of three necessities of life—food, clothing, and shelter. My study leads me to add a fourth necessity, an extremely important one—means of travel. In order to solve the livelihood problem, we must not only greatly reduce the cost of these four necessities, but we must make them available for all the people of the nation. If the *San Min Chu I* are to become effective and a new world is to be built up, then no one must lack any of these four necessities of life. It is essential that the state undertake the responsibility for providing these necessities.

**Lecture 4:** The first important problem in the *Min-sheng* Principle is food, the next problem is clothing.

The uncivilized races of Africa and Malaysia go without clothes, and so our primitive ancestors must also have lived naked. The wearing of clothes has come with the progress of civilization. The more civilization advances, the more complex becomes the problem of clothing.

Clothing materials, like food materials, depend upon animals and plants; there is no other important source.

In the progress of human civilization, living standards evolve through three

stages. The first stage is that of necessities, which man could not do without. When man advanced to the second stage, he had comforts. Then he went a step further and looked for luxuries.

But in seeking a solution for the problem of livelihood, we are not dealing with comforts or with luxuries; we are simply trying to solve the problem of necessities. We want the four hundred millions throughout the nation to have the necessary food and clothing, enough to eat and to wear.

Of clothing materials, two kinds come from animals and two kinds from plants. The four materials are silk, hemp or flax, cotton, and wool. These four products are the essential materials for man's clothing.

Although China discovered silk several thousand years ago, yet the key to the clothing problem of the Chinese people is not silk. Our necessary articles of clothing are not made of silk, and a large proportion of the people cannot afford to wear silk. The silk which we produce every year is for the most part shipped to foreign countries to be made into articles of luxury. Formerly China was the only country producing silk. Recently other countries like France, Italy, and Japan began to produce great quantities of silk. As a result, Chinese silk has been driven off the international market. Investigation will show that the decline of the Chinese silk industry is due to poor methods of production. If China is to reform her silk industry and to increase silk production, her silk growers must learn foreign scientific methods and must improve silkworm eggs and mulberry leaves. They must also study the best methods of reeling the silk from the cocoons and of sorting and improving the various grades, qualities, and colors of raw silk, and methods of weaving silks and satins by machinery. Then we can make beautiful silk goods for the use of our people. When the home demand is met, we can ship the surplus abroad in exchange for other goods.

The second material of which clothes are made is hemp which owes its first discovery to China. All the provinces of China raise hemp to a great extent, but the goods made from hemp are suitable only for summer clothing. If we want to better the linen industry, we must make a detailed and radical study of its agricultural side—how to

cultivate hemp and flax and how to apply fertilizers; and also of its manufacturing side—how to produce fine linen thread. Modern scientific methods must be applied to its manufacture.

Most clothes, however, are made of cotton, while wool is being used to an increasing extent. Cotton is not native to China. It came from India. China has built up a cotton industry, but foreign cotton cloth is better in quality than the native cloth and quite inexpensive. The people prefer the foreign cotton cloth, and so our native industry has been driven to the wall.

Among the cotton-growing countries of the world, the United States comes first, India second, and China third. Although China produces a great deal of cotton of good natural quality, yet, because her industries are undeveloped, she cannot use the raw cotton in the manufacture of good fabrics and yarn. She can only ship it for sale abroad, mostly to Japan and Western countries.

Our imports do not match our exports. Our chief imports are foreign yarn and cotton goods. So China's main loss through imports comes from cotton. In order to remedy the situation, we must regain our customs autonomy and adopt a protective tariff system.

The fourth material, wool, is produced in considerable quantities in China. Chinese wool is superior in quality to foreign wool, but the wool industry is not developed in China. We do not manufacture woollens but ship our wool to other countries to be sold. If we could recover our rights and employ the power of the state to develop our wool industry, it would flourish along with the cotton industry.

In order to solve the clothing problem, we must utilize the great strength of the entire nation in a broad comprehensive plan, first recover our sovereign rights, employ the state's power to develop our agricultural and manufacturing industries in connection with silk, hemp, cotton, and wool, and take back our Maritime Customs for the protection of these industries, and raise the duties on exported raw materials and upon imported manufactured goods. Then our spinning and textile industries will immediately begin to grow and the problem of clothing will reach a solution.

**Lecture 5:** (Presumably on Shelter), not given.

**Lecture 6:** (Presumably on Means of Travel), not given.



## CHAPTER III

### GOVERNMENT STRUCTURE

#### PARTY AND GOVERNMENT

A fact of fundamental importance to remember about the Chinese government structure is the Party Rule established by the Kuomintang following the Northern Expedition in 1926-28. Since then the Kuomintang has been exercising the governing powers on behalf of the Chinese people, and the existing National Government is responsible to the Party.

The Kuomintang's Party Rule has been embodied in laws. It was provided in Article 1 of the First Organic Law of the National Government (promulgated on July 1, 1925) that "The National Government shall administer affairs of the nation under the direction and supervision of the Kuomintang." The organic law of the National Government has been amended many times since, but the above-mentioned provision remains unchanged. In the summer of 1928, following the successful conclusion of the Northern Expedition, the *Program of Political Tutelage* was enacted and promulgated. Article I of the program reads: "During the period of Political Tutelage, the Kuomintang National Congress shall lead the nation and exercise the governing powers on behalf of the People's Congress." Later, this program became part of the *Provisional Constitution* promulgated in June, 1931. Article 72 of the *Provisional Constitution* reads: "The National Government shall have a chairman and an appropriate number of state councillors, who shall be elected and appointed by the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang." Article 85 of the same law reads: "The power of interpreting this *Provisional Constitution* shall be exercised by the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang."

Article 10 of the extant Organic Law of the National Government, which was promulgated on December 30, 1931, reads: "The National Government shall have a chairman and from twenty-four to thirty-six state councillors, and each Yuan shall have a president and a vice-president, who shall be selected and appointed by the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang." Article 15 of the same law reads: "Pending the

promulgation of a Permanent Constitution, the Executive Yuan, the Legislative Yuan, the Judicial Yuan, the Examination Yuan and the Control Yuan shall each be responsible to the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang."

#### THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE

A description of the Kuomintang's internal organization, is given in the chapter on Kuomintang. The highest organ is the Party National Congress which normally meets once every two years. When the National Congress is in recess, the highest organs are the Central Executive Committee and the Central Supervisory Committee. Of the two, the former is by far more important. It has under it numerous committees. In order to deliberate on matters of government policy and to direct and supervise the National Government, it organized a Political Committee in 1924. For sometime it was known as the Central Political Council. The existing (but no longer active) Political Committee was formed in November 1935. According to its organic law, revised in May, 1938, its chairman, vice-chairman, and from 19 to 25 members are chosen by the Central Executive Committee from among its own members and those of the Central Supervisory Committee. It was also stipulated that the chairman and vice-chairman of the standing committee of the Central Executive Committee, chairman of the National Government, presidents of the five Yuan, chairman and vice-chairman of the National Military Council, should all attend meetings of the Political Committee. Whenever necessary, chairmen of the various special committees under the Central Executive Committee and heads of ministries and commissions may be notified to be present. Members of the standing committee of the Central Executive Committee should also attend meetings of the political committee.

The internal organization of the Political Committee underwent numerous changes. The systems of

having a chairman, a presidium and a standing committee at the head of the Political Committee were all tried. In 1935, the chairman system was made permanent. The chairman was endowed with powers to take necessary measures in the face of military or diplomatic exigencies. Under the Political Committee there used to be numerous sections, later renamed "technical committees." At one time there were eight such technical committees in charge of law, domestic affairs, foreign affairs, finance, economic affairs, education, land, and communications. Some of these were abolished and others amalgamated. Each of these technical committees was headed by a chairman and a vice-chairman, chosen from among important members of the Central Executive Committee and the Central Supervisory Committee and from 17 to 21 members chosen from among members and reserve members of the C. E. C. and C. S. C. and specialists. The Political Committee met once a week or every two weeks. No quorum was required and resolutions were adopted without voting. Nor was there any rigid procedure for the presentation of matters for discussion. In most cases the proposals were examined before discussion but sometimes they were not.

The authority of the Political Committee underwent little change during more than ten years of its existence. As the highest organ of political direction, it had power to decide on:

- (1) Principles of legislation,
- (2) Administrative policies and programs of the government,
- (3) Important matters of military administration,
- (4) Financial plans,
- (5) Selection of officials of the special appointment rank and political officials, and
- (6) Matters assigned by the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang.

Though the Political Committee had the same power in regard to the appointment and dismissal of political officials in all five Yuan, it seldom interfered with judicial, examination and censorial cases.

With the exception of the chairman of the National Government, State Councillors, and presidents and vice-presidents of the five Yuan, who were selected and appointed by the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang or its Standing Committee, the appoint-

ment and dismissal of all other political officials had to be approved by the Political Committee. In actual practice, the Political Committee generally approved of all important political officials such as heads of ministries and commissions recommended for appointment by presidents of the Yuan concerned. In the case of political vice-ministers of ministries in the Executive Yuan, chairmen of provincial governments, mayors of special municipalities and members of provincial governments, the procedure of appointment and dismissal was not uniform. In the last few active years of the Political Committee, the Executive Yuan often made the appointments or effected the dismissals first and then submitted the names to the Political Committee for confirmation.

Inasmuch as it was competent to decide on administrative policies and programs both ordinary and military in nature and the principles of legislation, the Political Committee was the common superior organ of the Executive Yuan, the National Military Council and the Legislative Yuan. Principles of legislation passed by the Political Committee were often more than guiding principles and comprised considerable details. In some cases the Political Committee, after having decided upon regulations of a legislative nature, sent them directly to the National Government for promulgation without going through the usual procedure of legislation. In the case of resolutions of the Executive Yuan, there were no hard and fast rules as to what should be submitted to the Political Committee for approval and what not. In the last few active years of the Political Committee, however, all problems pertaining to budgets were so submitted. In view of its comprehensive powers, the Political Committee, until its suspension upon the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war in July, 1937, was the most powerful organ within the Kuomintang that had to do with the direction and supervision of the National Government.

#### THE SUPREME NATIONAL DEFENSE COUNCIL

In August, 1937, the Standing Committee of the Central Executive Committee decided to form a Supreme National Defense Conference to take over functions of the Political Committee. Thus, for sometime, the Supreme National Defense Conference was the highest organ of political direction in the Chinese

government. It had a small standing committee which usually carried out the functions of the Conference. The chairman of the National Military Council was concurrently chairman of the Supreme National Defense Conference.

Meanwhile, the administrative power was centralized in the National Military Council which from August, 1937, to January, 1938, virtually became the Headquarters of the Commander-in-Chief of China's armed forces. During this period, the Council directed all Party, political and military affairs through its eight boards or departments in charge of military operations, military training, light industry and commerce, heavy industry, international publicity, people's movement, military transportation, and army and civilian medical services. To a certain extent this arrangement resulted in a unified command. Many organs, both under the National Government and in the Party, however, had not been brought under the control of the National Military Council. Then in January, 1938, all non-military functions, normally carried on by the civil branch of the National Government, were returned to their original organs concerned.

At its fifth plenary session in January, 1939, the Fifth Central Executive Committee decided to reorganize the Supreme National Defense Conference into the Supreme National Defense Council, which, since its formation, had been exercising the functions which formerly belonged to the Political Committee. The organic law of the Supreme National Defense Council has never been published. The *Tsungsai* of the Kuomintang (Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek) is chairman of the Council, whose members include the members of the Standing Committee of the Central Executive Committee and the Central Supervisory Committee, the presidents and vice-presidents of the five Yuan (Executive, Legislative, Judicial, Examination, and Control), members of the National Military Council, and persons recommended by the chairman of the Supreme National Defense Council and approved by the Standing Committee of the Central Executive Committee. From among the members, the Chairman of the Supreme National Defense Council appoints 11 to form the Standing Committee, whose members all hold responsible positions in Party, military and administrative organs. The functions of the Supreme National Defense Council are usually

exercised by the standing committee, which meets once every two weeks. Full sessions of the Supreme National Defense Council are called by the chairman of the Council.

Aside from its regular members, the Supreme National Defense Council has a number of executive members. They are the secretary-general of the Kuomintang Central Executive Committee, heads of the various Party boards, chairman of the Training Committee, secretary-general of the Political Committee, civil affairs director of the National Government, secretary-general of the Executive Yuan, and heads of the various ministries, Chief of Staff, and Deputy Chief of Staff, and heads of the various boards in the National Military Council, and president of the Military Advisory Council. The chairman of the Supreme National Defense Council may ask any of the executive members to be present at Council sessions. The chairman of any technical committee under the Supreme National Defense Council may also be asked to be present at Council meetings.

The chairman of the Supreme National Defense Council, according to its organic law, has emergency powers. He does not have to adhere to the ordinary procedure while handling Party, political and military affairs. He has the authority to issue such decrees as may be necessitated by the situation. In actual practice, however, the chairman usually consults members of the standing committee before exercising these powers.

The Supreme National Defense Council functions in very much the same way as the Political Committee did, except that it is in charge of a greater number of activities and has a much more powerful secretariat. Though the Supreme National Defense Council has the power to direct all organs of high authority in the government, it does not issue orders directly to the organs concerned. Instead, its resolutions are forwarded to the organs concerned for enforcement by the secretariat of the Council. The secretariat is headed by a secretary-general, who is himself a member of the Council, and a deputy secretary-general.

In 1941, two new organs, namely, the Central Planning Board and the Party and Political Work Perscrutation Committee, were established under the Supreme National Defense Council.

### THE CENTRAL PLANNING BOARD

The Central Planning Board was formed in October, 1940, in accordance with a resolution adopted by the Fifth Kuomintang Central Executive Committee at its seventh plenary session in January the same year to formulate and study all plans of political and economic reconstruction. The chairman of the Supreme National Defense Council is concurrently director-general of the Central Planning Board.

The internal organization of the Central Planning Board is as follows:—

- (1) An Examination Council to study plans and budgets of political and economic reconstruction, to readjust important laws and regulations and to propose important government policies.
- (2) A number of specialists, who work in three divisions in charge of political, economic and financial affairs.
- (3) A Council of Specialists to be convened by the Secretary-General.
- (4) A National-Defense Industries Planning Committee.
- (5) A Budgets Committee to examine budgetary estimates.
- (6) A secretariat which is sub-divided into secretarial, investigation, personnel, and three other sections.

Important projects either completed or under way are as follows:—

- (1) The compilation of a Three-Year Wartime Reconstruction Plan, completed in December, 1941.
- (2) The re-arranging of administrative programs of various government organs for 1942, completed in January, 1942.
- (3) The formulation of the National Government's administrative program for 1943, completed in July, 1942.
- (4) The compilation of a Post-War Five-Year National Defense and Economic Reconstruction Plan, now under preparation.
- (5) The preparation of a Ten-Year Plan for the development of the Northwest provinces, now under preparation.
- (6) The examination of the administrative programs of all government organs for 1943, now under preparation.

- (7) Other important projects already completed include the principles and form of regulations governing the divided responsibility of government organs of varying status, and the Local Self-Government administrative program.

### THE PARTY AND POLITICAL WORK PERSCRUTATION COMMITTEE

The Party and Political Work Perscrutation Committee was formed in January, 1941, in accordance with a decision reached by the standing committee of the Kuomintang Central Executive Committee on September 5, 1940, to check up the following matters:—

- (1) Work of the Central and local Party organs,
- (2) Work of the ministries and commissions under the National Government and of all administrative organs in the various provinces,
- (3) Progress made in the enforcement of approved plans,
- (4) Effect of the enforcement of the existing laws and orders,
- (5) Progress of economic reconstruction,
- (6) Financial and personnel conditions in the various organs.

The committee has one chairman and two vice-chairmen, selected by the Supreme National Defense Council, and eleven committee members. Aside from the presidents of the five Yuan in the National Government and the secretaries-general of the Central Executive Committee and the Central Supervisory Committee of the Kuomintang, who shall all be committee members *ex-officio*, the rest shall be chosen and appointed by the Supreme National Defense Council.

The committee has two divisions in charge of the perscrutation of Party and political affairs, respectively. Each of these divisions has a director and a deputy director designated by the chairman of the Supreme National Defense Council. Once a year the committee may send out investigation parties to check up on the work done by local Party and administrative organs. Technicians and specialists may be invited to serve as members of these investigation parties. While carrying out its duties, these parties shall have access to the documentary files of organs under investigation. Results of such investigations are reported to the Supreme National Defense Council. In exercising its



duties, the Party and Political Work Perscrutation Committee is to maintain close contact with the Central Planning Board.

### THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

The term National Government has two meanings. In its broad sense, it indicates the Central Government as a whole. In its narrow sense, it refers to the chairman of the National Government, the State Council, and from the standpoint of organization, also such organs as come directly under the National Government. Principally, they are the National Military Council and the Academia Sinica. The narrow sense is used in the following account.

The first organic law of the National Government was promulgated in July, 1925. Since then it has been revised six times. The last revision was effected in December, 1931. Under the existing organic law, the chairman of the National Government (Article 10) shall be selected and appointed by the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang for a term of two years and may be re-appointed for another term. Mr. Lin Sen, the incumbent chairman of the National Government, has long ago completed his two terms. At its first plenary session in 1935, however, the Fifth Central Executive Committee resolved that Chairman Lin's second term be extended until the promulgation of a Permanent Constitution.

Under the present organic law, though the chairman of the National Government is the head of the Republic of China and represents the National Government both internally and externally, he has no actual political responsibility (Article 11). All mandates of the National Government and orders for the mobilization of military forces shall be issued upon the signature of the chairman of the National Government, but they shall not become effective unless countersigned by the presidents of the Yuan and the heads of the ministries concerned (Article 14). Pending the promulgation of a Permanent Constitution, the Executive Yuan, the Legislative Yuan, the Judicial Yuan, the Examination Yuan, and the Control Yuan, shall each be responsible to the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang (Article 15).

The State Council shall be composed of the chairman of the National Government, and from 24 to 36 councillors, who are selected and appointed by the

Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang for an indefinite term of office. The only function of the State Council (Article 17) is to decide matters which cannot be settled between two or more of the Yuan. In actual practice, matters like amnesty, preliminary national budgetary estimates, regulations governing the formation of organs directly under the National Government, and the appointment and dismissal of high-ranking officials, and legislative matters to be referred to the Legislative Yuan, were once included in the State Council's agenda. In recent years financial matters were often so included. The power of the State Council, however, is limited, as it cannot alter budgetary estimates presented by the Executive Yuan, nor can it reject petitions of amnesty from the Judicial Yuan.

In the National Government itself there are three organs, namely, the Civil Affairs Department, the Military Affairs Department, and the Directorate-General of Budgets, Accounts and Statistics. The first organ is in charge of documents and seals and the second is in charge of ceremonies and routine matters in the National Government, both of them of no political importance. The third organ, established in April, 1931, has three bureaus: budgets, accounts, and statistics. The Bureau of Budgets, is in charge of the compilation of the annual budgets, and the examination of the budgetary estimates of all government organs, before they become effective, have to be examined by the Bureau of Budgets. The Bureau of Accounts is in charge of the appointment, dismissal and work of accountants in all government organs. The Bureau of Statistics is in charge of the appointment and dismissal of statistical personnel in all government organs, and seeks to unify the methods of compiling statistics in all government organs.

Directly under the National Government are two large organs. The first is the National Military Council (*see* Chapter on Military Affairs) and the second is the Academia Sinica, or the National Academy of China, highest research institution in the country (*see* Chapter on Education and Research).

### REVISED ORGANIC LAW OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

*Promulgated at Nanking on December 30, 1931.*

#### I. GENERAL PROVISION

Article 1.—The National Government, in pursuance of Article 77 of the Provisional

Constitution of the Political Tutelage Period, does hereby enact and ordain the following Organic Law of the National Government of the Republic of China.

#### II. THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

Article 2.—The National Government shall exercise the governing powers of the Republic of China.

Article 3.—The National Government shall have the supreme command of the land, naval and air forces.

Article 4.—The National Government shall have the power to declare war, to negotiate peace, and to conclude treaties.

Article 5.—The National Government shall promulgate laws and issue mandates.

Article 6.—The National Government shall exercise the power of granting amnesties, pardons, reprieves, and restitution of civic rights.

Article 7.—The National Government shall exercise the power of conferring medals and decorations of honor.

Article 8.—The National Government shall entrust to the five following Yuan the independent exercise of the five political powers of administration, legislation, judiciary, examination and control:—the Executive Yuan, the Legislative Yuan, the Judicial Yuan, the Examination Yuan and the Control Yuan.

Each of the aforementioned Yuan may, according to law, issue orders.

Article 9.—The National Government may, when it is deemed necessary, set up subordinate organs to be controlled directly by the National Government. The organization of such organs shall be determined by law.

Article 10.—The National Government shall have a chairman and from twenty-four to thirty-six state councillors, and each Yuan shall have a president and a vice-president, who shall be selected and appointed by the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang.

Article 11.—The chairman of the National Government shall be the head of the Republic of China and shall represent the National Government both internally and externally, but he shall have no actual political responsibility.

Article 12.—The chairman of the National Government shall not hold any concurrent government post.

Article 13.—The chairman of the National Government shall hold office for two years and he may be reappointed for another term, provided, however, that upon the promulgation of a Permanent Constitution a new election shall be held according to law; in case the chairman of the National Government should be unable to perform his duty, the president of the Executive Yuan shall act on his behalf.

Article 14.—All mandates of the National Government and orders for the mobilization of military forces shall be issued upon the signature of the chairman of the National Government but they shall not become effective unless countersigned by the presidents of the Yuan and the heads of the ministries concerned.

Article 15.—Pending the promulgation of a Permanent Constitution the Executive Yuan, the Legislative Yuan, the Judicial Yuan, the Examination Yuan and the Control Yuan shall each be responsible to the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang.

#### III. THE STATE COUNCIL

Article 16.—The State Council shall be composed of the Chairman of the National Government and the State Councillors.

Article 17.—All matters which cannot be settled between two or more of the Yuan shall be referred to the meetings of the State Council for decision.

Article 18.—The regulations governing the meetings of the State Council shall be separately drawn up.

#### IV. THE EXECUTIVE YUAN

Article 19.—The Executive Yuan shall be the highest executive organ of the National Government.

Article 20.—The Executive Yuan shall establish ministries to which shall be entrusted the various executive duties.

The Executive Yuan may appoint commissions to take charge of specified executive matters.

Article 21.—The ministries of the Executive Yuan shall each have a minister, a political vice-minister, an administrative vice-minister and the various commissions shall each have a chairman, a vice-chairman and a certain number of members.

The ministers of the various ministries and the chairmen of the various commissions shall be appointed or removed, according to law, by the chairman of the National Government at the instance of the president of the Executive Yuan.

The political vice-ministers and administrative vice-ministers of the various ministries and the vice-chairmen as well as members of the various commissions shall be appointed or removed, according to law, by the chairman of the National Government at the instance of the president of the Executive Yuan.

Article 22.—In case the president of the Executive Yuan is unable to discharge his duties from any cause whatsoever, the vice-president of the said Yuan shall act in his place.

Article 23.—The meetings of the Executive Yuan shall be attended by the president and the vice-president of the Executive Yuan, the ministers of the various ministries, and the chairmen of the various commissions, and presided over by the president of the said Yuan.

Article 24.—The following matters shall be decided at the meetings of the Executive Yuan :—

- (1) Bills to be introduced in the Legislative Yuan.
- (2) Budgets to be submitted to the Legislative Yuan.
- (3) Amnesties to be submitted to the Legislative Yuan.
- (4) Declaration of war and negotiation for peace to be submitted to the Legislative Yuan.
- (5) The appointment or dismissal of administrative and judicial officials or above the recommended rank (3rd class).
- (6) All matters which cannot be settled between the various ministries and commissions of the Executive Yuan.
- (7) Other matters which, according to law or in the opinion of the president of the Executive Yuan, should be decided at the meetings of the said Yuan.

Article 25.—All orders and acts of disposition of the Executive Yuan, in order to be effective, shall be countersigned, in respect of those affecting general administrative affairs, by the entire body of ministers, and, in respect of those affecting only one ministry, by the minister concerned.

Article 26.—The organization of the Executive Yuan shall be determined by law.

#### V. THE LEGISLATIVE YUAN

Article 27.—The Legislative Yuan shall be the highest legislative organ of the National Government.

The Legislative Yuan shall have the power to decide upon the following :—legislation, budgets, amnesties, declaration of war, negotiation for peace, and other important international affairs.

Article 28.—In case the president of the Legislative Yuan is unable to discharge his duties from any cause whatsoever, the vice-president of the said Yuan shall act in his place.

Article 29.—The presidents of the various Yuan and the ministers of the various ministries may attend the meetings of the Legislative Yuan to offer explanations.

Article 30.—The Legislative Yuan shall be composed of from forty-nine to ninety-nine Legislative Members, who shall be appointed and removed, according to law, by the chairman of the National Government at the instance of the president of the Legislative Yuan.

Article 31.—The Legislative Members of the Legislative Yuan shall hold office for two years and shall be eligible for reappointment.

Article 32.—The Legislative Members of the Legislative Yuan shall not hold any concurrent government posts.

Article 33.—The president of the Legislative Yuan shall preside over the meetings of the Legislative Yuan.

Article 34.—The organization of the Legislative Yuan shall be determined by law.

#### VI. THE JUDICIAL YUAN

Article 35.—The Judicial Yuan shall be the highest judicial organ of the National Government.

The granting of pardons and reprieves and the restitution of civic rights shall be signed by the chairman of the National Government at the instance, according to law, of the president of the Judicial Yuan.

Article 36.—The Judicial Yuan shall establish a Supreme Court, an Administrative Court, and a Commission for the Disciplinary Punishment of Public Functionaries.

Article 37.—The president of the Judicial Yuan shall act concurrently as the president of the Supreme Court, and the vice-president of the Judicial Yuan shall act concurrently as the chairman of the Commission for the Disciplinary Punishment of Public Functionaries.

Article 38.—The president of the Judicial Yuan may, when it is deemed necessary, personally conduct and dispose of trials at the Administrative Court and the Commission for the Disciplinary Punishment of Public Functionaries.

Article 39.—In case the president of the Judicial Yuan is unable to discharge his duties from any cause whatsoever, the vice-president of the said Yuan shall act in his place.

Article 40.—The Judicial Yuan may introduce in the Legislative Yuan bills on matters within its own competence.

Article 41.—The organization of the Judicial Yuan shall be determined by law.

#### VII. THE EXAMINATION YUAN

Article 42.—The Examination Yuan shall be the highest examination organ of the National Government and shall exercise, according to law, the powers of examination and the determination of qualifications for public service.

Article 43.—In case the president of the Examination Yuan is unable to discharge his duties from any cause whatsoever, the vice-president of the said Yuan shall act in his place.

Article 44.—The Examination Yuan may introduce in the Legislative Yuan bills on matters within its own competence.

Article 45.—The organization of the Examination Yuan shall be determined by law.

#### VIII. THE CONTROL YUAN

Article 46.—The Control Yuan shall be the highest supervisory organ of the National Government and shall, according to law, exercise the following powers :

- (1) Impeachment.
- (2) Auditing.

Article 47.—In case the president of the Control Yuan is unable to discharge his duties from any cause whatsoever, the vice-president of the said Yuan shall act in his place.

Article 48.—The Control Yuan shall be composed of from twenty-nine to forty-nine Supervisory Members, who shall be appointed and removed, according to law, by the chairman of the National Government at the instance of the president of the Control Yuan.

Article 49.—The security of tenure of office of the Supervisory Members of the Control Yuan shall be determined by law.

Article 50.—All meetings of the Control Yuan shall be attended by the Supervisory Members of the Control Yuan and presided over by the president of the said Yuan.

Article 51.—The Supervisory Members of the Control Yuan shall not hold any concurrent public offices.

Article 52.—The Control Yuan may introduce in the Legislative Yuan bills on matters within its own competence.

Article 53.—The organization of the Control Yuan shall be determined by law.

#### IX. ADDITIONAL ARTICLE

Article 54.—The present law shall come into force on the day of its promulgation.

#### THE EXECUTIVE YUAN

The Executive Yuan is the highest executive organ of the National Government. It takes orders only from the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang and its Political Committee (now the Supreme National Defense Council). The president of the Executive Yuan, selected and appointed by the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang, has considerable power, as the heads of the various ministries, commissions, and administrations in the Executive Yuan are appointed or removed by the chairman of the National Government at his instance. In case the president of the Executive Yuan is unable to discharge his duties from any cause whatsoever, the vice-president, who is similarly selected and appointed, acts in his place.

As it is at present constituted, the Executive Yuan has eleven ministries, four commissions and two administrations. They are :

- (1) Ministry of Interior,
- (2) Ministry of Foreign Affairs,
- (3) Ministry of Military Affairs,
- (4) Ministry of Finance,
- (5) Ministry of Economic Affairs,

- (6) Ministry of Education,
- (7) Ministry of Communications,
- (8) Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry,
- (9) Ministry of Social Affairs,
- (10) Ministry of Food,
- (11) Ministry of Justice,
- (12) Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commission,
- (13) Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission,
- (14) National Relief Commission,
- (15) National Conservancy Commission,
- (16) National Health Administration,
- (17) National Land Administration.

Each ministry has a minister, a political vice-minister, and an administrative vice-minister, each commission a chairman and a vice-chairman, and each administration a director and a deputy director, all appointed and removed by the chairman of the National Government at the instance of the president of the Executive Yuan.

The Executive Yuan meeting which takes place once a week, usually on Tuesday, is attended by the president and vice-president of the Yuan, and the heads of the various ministries, commissions and administrations. The Executive Yuan meeting has the power to decide on the following matters :

- (1) Bills on legislative matters to be introduced in the Legislative Yuan,
- (2) Budgets to be submitted to the Legislative Yuan,
- (3) Amnesties to be submitted to the Legislative Yuan,
- (4) Declaration of war and negotiation for peace to be submitted to the Legislative Yuan,
- (5) The appointment or dismissal of administrative and judicial officials of or above the recommended rank,
- (6) All matters which cannot be settled between the various ministries, commissions and administrations of the Executive Yuan,
- (7) All matters which, according to law or in the opinion of the president of the Executive Yuan, should be decided at the meetings of the said Yuan.



All orders and acts of disposition of the Executive Yuan, in order to be effective, shall be countersigned, in respect of those affecting general administrative affairs, by the entire body of the ministers, and, in respect of those affecting only one ministry, by the minister concerned.

Strictly speaking, the Executive Yuan comprises the entire executive branch of the National Government, that is, the Yuan itself and all its component units. But in its current usage the term "Executive Yuan" is often applied in a narrower sense to denote only the institution presided over by the president of the Executive Yuan.

The duty of the Executive Yuan is to direct, coordinate and keep under constant review the work of its ministries, commissions, administrations, and either directly or through them, to exercise general supervision over the administration of the provinces and special municipalities. It falls within the sphere of the Executive Yuan to adjust the inter-relationships between the various ministries, commissions and administrations, to examine their budgets, appointments and policies as well as those of the provincial and special municipal governments, to review the progress of their work, to issue instructions on matters which they cannot decide for themselves, and to eliminate the overlapping of functions and, prevent the shifting of responsibility.

In the execution of his duties, the president of the Executive Yuan is assisted by a secretary-general and a political affairs director. While routine matters are usually disposed of by them, with the assistance of secretaries and counsellors, important questions are always reserved for discussion at the Executive Yuan meeting. The weekly meeting affords a valuable channel for the exchange of views between the various administrative heads. Reports by ministers, chairmen of provincial governments, and mayors of special municipalities are scrutinized by the secretariat before they are submitted to the Executive Yuan meeting.

In recent years, the component units of the Executive Yuan have changed several times. In January, 1938, the Ministry of Navy was abolished and all naval affairs were transferred to the Naval Headquarters in the National Military Council; the Ministry of Industry was transformed into the Ministry of

Economic Affairs which absorbed the functions of the National Reconstruction Commission, the conservancy department of the National Economic Council, and the third and fourth departments of the National Military Council in charge of light industry and commerce, and heavy industry; the Ministry of Railways and the Bureau of Highways of the National Economic Council were merged with the Ministry of Communications; the National Health Administration was transferred from the Ministry of Interior to the Executive Yuan and it absorbed the public health department of the National Economic Council. In February, 1938, the National Relief Commission was created. In July, 1940 the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry was established. In January, 1941, an Economic Council was created to co-ordinate the activities of different ministries which pertain to economic affairs. This Economic Council was absorbed in May, 1942, by the National General Mobilization Council which remains in the Executive Yuan. In June, 1941, the Ministry of Social Affairs, formerly under the Kuomintang Central Executive Committee, was transferred to the Executive Yuan. In December, 1941, the Land Administration was created. In November, 1942, the Ministry of Justice, hitherto under the Judicial Yuan, was transferred to the Executive Yuan by a resolution adopted at the 10th plenary session of the Kuomintang Central Executive Committee.

The National General Mobilization Council has two major divisions, namely, planning and administration. Planning is done by the council's standing committee which is headed by the president and vice-president of the Executive Yuan and has as its members the ministers of finance, military affairs, economic affairs, communications, agriculture and forestry, social affairs, and food, and the secretary-general and political affairs director of the Executive Yuan, and the secretary-general of the mobilization council itself. The standing committee holds periodic meetings and serves as the "economic cabinet" of the Executive Yuan. The administrative phase is attended to by two departments of general affairs and commodities and five sections: military affairs, manpower, finance, transportation, and inspection. These departments and sections work under the supervision of the secretary-general and deputy secretary-general of the mobilization council.

### THE LEGISLATIVE YUAN

The Legislative Yuan has a president and a vice-president, both appointed by the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang. The Legislative Yuan is composed of from 49 to 99 legislative members, who are appointed and removed by the chairman of the National Government at the instance of the president of the Legislative Yuan. The legislative members hold office for two years and are eligible for reappointment.

The Legislative Yuan has five standing committees: (1) the General Committee, (2) the Foreign Affairs Committee, (3) the Finance Committee, (4) the Economic Affairs Committee and (5) the Military Affairs Committee. Besides the standing committees, there are seven special committees, created for specific pieces of legislation: (1) the Civil Law Committee, (2) the Penal Law Committee, (3) the Commercial Law Committee, (4) the Labor Law Committee, (5) the Self-Government Law Committee, (6) the Land Law Committee, (7) the Constitution Publicity Committee. These committees have no permanent chairmen, but the first member on the list calls the meeting to order and presides over it. Members of the special committees are chosen from the whole body of legislative members. A member therefore may serve in more than one committee at a time. Other special committees may be created as special legislative work demands, but they are to be abolished upon the completion of the assigned work.

Before the war broke out, the Legislative Yuan used to meet once every week. A third of the legislative members makes a quorum, but actual attendance in the last few years came up to two-thirds of the entire body. The work of the Legislative Yuan was suspended from November, 1937, to April, 1938. Since the latter date, the Legislative Yuan has been meeting once every two weeks. The president of the Legislative Yuan, who presides over these periodic meetings, has the power to decide on or alter the agenda, and he has also the power to stipulate the amount of time for discussion. Whenever necessary, he may prolong the time for discussion. In case of matters rejected by the Legislative Yuan, the president of the Yuan may petition the Political Committee (now the Supreme National Defense Council) for permission to reconvene the Legislative Yuan for reconsideration of the matter. The

Legislative Yuan may invite the presidents of other Yuan and the heads of ministries, commissions and administrations in the Executive Yuan to be present at its meetings.

According to Article 27 of the *Organic Law of the National Government*, the Legislative Yuan has power to decide on the following matters: legislation, budgets, amnesties, declaration of war, negotiation for peace, and other important international affairs. In practice, the principles of these matters used to be decided by the Political Committee and are now decided by the Supreme National Defense Council. The latter is the only judge of what are these "other important international affairs" which should be referred to the Legislative Yuan. The Legislative Yuan also has the right to interpellate the various ministries and commissions in the Executive Yuan concerning the execution of its resolutions, and in cases of infringement on the Legislative Yuan's power to legislate for all branches of the government. This right, however, carries with it no power of sanction.

The Legislative Yuan, unlike other national legislatures is not a policy-formulating body. It decides neither upon foreign nor domestic policy. Policies may be adopted and executed without a formal resolution of the Legislative Yuan. But a treaty must pass the Yuan before it can become effective. In treaty-making the Yuan is therefore a deliberating rather than an originating body. If a bill is introduced by the Supreme National Defense Council, the Legislative Yuan may change its contents but not its principles. If changes in its contents go so far as to make the revised bill deviate from the original principles, they may be rejected by the Supreme National Defense Council. In matters of foreign policy and treaty-making, the Legislative Yuan is only an advisory body on technical matters and not a deciding organ.

Bills introduced before the Legislative Yuan may be divided into four kinds, depending on their originating organs. The Central Executive Committee bills come first. These include bills introduced by the central, provincial and local Party headquarters or by members of the Central Executive Committee with the approval of and through the Central Executive Committee. The Central Executive Committee itself does not directly introduce the bills. Instead,

these bills used to go through the Political Committee and now go through the Supreme National Defense Council. Bills introduced by the State Council of the National Government form the second kind. Bills originated by any one of the four other Yuan constitute the third kind. The fourth kind includes bills introduced by the president of the Legislative Yuan and those introduced in the Yuan's name by legislative members. A ministry or commission under any Yuan, or a provincial, local and municipal government may introduce a law bill into the Legislative Yuan concerning matters within their respective competence with the approval and in the name of its direct superior Yuan. When an office not under any of the five Yuan but directly under the National Government wishes to introduce a bill on matters within its competence into the Legislative Yuan, it must submit the bill to the State Council of the National Government, which, after deliberation, will bring the bill before the Legislative Yuan.

Whenever a bill is introduced, its principles are always laid down and these are determined by the Supreme National Defense Council. Except for bills concerning political, military, or diplomatic problems which require secrecy, the Supreme National Defense Council may refer the principles of a bill to the Legislative Yuan for deliberation before a decision is made. Where the Legislative Yuan has a dissenting opinion on the principles of a bill it may express it to the Supreme National Defense Council, which makes final decisions.

When a bill is introduced in the Legislative Yuan, it is first assigned to a committee for consideration. In case of emergency, the bill goes directly to the Yuan meeting. After the committee stage, a bill comes to the Yuan meeting, where it goes through three readings. The first reading is a more or less formal procedure. The second reading is more important because there discussions and debates take place. At the third reading, the discussion and amendments are limited to the phraseology of the articles and clauses, or to other technicalities. Finally comes the voting. The vote of the majority of the legislative members present decides the issue. In case of a tie, the presiding officer casts the deciding vote. After a bill is passed or a resolution adopted the Legislative Yuan reports its decision to the National

Government, which promulgates it or decrees it as law. The National Government has no power of veto. But before promulgation the Supreme National Defense Council may disapprove of any of the bills. In that case it will lay down the principles and refer the bills back to the Legislative Yuan for reconsideration.

In order to find out actual conditions in the various provinces and in frontier districts as guidance in legislation, the Legislative Yuan in March, 1941, decided that from time to time legislative members should tour the country to find out facts about the following matters:

- (1) State of enforcement of existing laws and regulations,
- (2) Provincial, *hsien* and municipal ordinances to see whether they are contradictory to or violate existing laws,
- (3) Progress of the local self-government program,
- (4) Customs and habits in the frontier districts,
- (5) Conscription and labor service,
- (6) Land administration,
- (7) Judicial conditions,
- (8) Taxation and *hsien* and municipal finances,
- (9) Public utilities and government-owned enterprises,
- (10) Demand and supply of commodities.

Two such investigation parties left Chungking in August, 1942, one going to the northwestern provinces and the other going to interior districts in Szechwan and Sikang.

### THE JUDICIAL YUAN

The Judicial Yuan is the highest judicial organ of the National Government and is responsible to the Kuomintang Central Executive Committee, which appoints its president and vice-president. The Yuan is composed of the Supreme Court, the Administrative Court, and the Commission for the Disciplinary Punishment of Public Functionaries. The Ministry of Justice, which used to be a part of the Yuan, was transferred to the Executive Yuan in November, 1942.

The president of the Judicial Yuan is concurrently president of the Supreme Court, and the vice-president concurrently chairman of the Central Commission for the Disciplinary Punishment of Public Functionaries. The president of the Yuan, whenever he deems it necessary, may personally conduct and dispose of trials

before the Administrative Court or the Central Commission for the Disciplinary Punishment of Public Functionaries.

In the Judicial Yuan is unified the power of interpreting all laws and orders and the power of altering court sentences. In addition, the Yuan may introduce in the Legislative Yuan bills on matters within its own competence, may petition the chairman of the National Government for amnesties, mitigation of sentences or restitution of civil rights.

The internal organization of the Judicial Yuan consists of the councillors' office and the secretariat, which attend separately to official matters. Attached to the Yuan are the Committee for the Study of Laws and Regulations, which does research work in all laws and regulations at present in force, and the Judicial Officers' Training Institute.

(For details about courts, see Chapter on Courts and Prisons.)

### THE EXAMINATION YUAN

The Examination Yuan is entrusted with the power of conducting civil service examinations and of determining the qualifications for public service. Its president and vice-president are appointed by the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang. It has two organs, the Commission of Civil Service Examinations and the Ministry of Personnel Registration.

There are four kinds of examination: the high examination, the ordinary examination, the examination for candidates for public offices, and special examinations. The Commission of Civil Service Examination is in charge of all administrative work concerning these examinations. When an examination is about to take place, two special organs are set up: an examination supervisory committee to prepare questions, mark examination papers and decide on the successful candidates; and an examination affairs department to look after business routine such as arranging examination halls and the custody of examination papers, etc.

According to the existing *Examination Law* promulgated by the National Government on February 23, 1933, three classes of people should participate in examinations and have their qualifications determined: First, those standing for election; second,

those wishing to receive government appointments of the selected, recommended or delegated ranks;\* and, third, professional and technical people, lawyers, accountants, agricultural, industrial and mining experts and technicians in public enterprises, doctors, pharmacists, veterinarians, midwives, nurses, who, according to law, should have government certificates (Article 2).

For the last two classes of people, there are two kinds of examinations, namely, the ordinary examination and the high examination (Article 3). Whenever necessary, the Examination Yuan may hold special examinations (Article 4). Chinese citizens of the following categories may participate in the ordinary examination:

- (1) Those who are graduates of government or private middle schools and have received diplomas;
- (2) Those who possess scholastic attainment equivalent to that of middle school graduates and have their qualifications determined in the regional preliminary test (Article 6).

Chinese citizens of the following five categories may participate in the high examination:

- (1) Those who are graduates of government or private universities, independent colleges, or technical colleges and have received diplomas,
- (2) Those who are graduates of overseas universities, colleges or technical colleges that are recognized by the Ministry of Education, and have received diplomas,
- (3) Those who possess scholastic attainment equivalent to that of university or technical college graduates, and have their qualifications determined in the preliminary test,
- (4) Those who have special knowledge, technique or have written books, and these have been found up to the standard,
- (5) Those who passed the ordinary examinations four years previously, or who have held posts of the delegated rank or of equivalent rank for three years (Article 7).

\* Appointments in the civil branch of the Chinese Government are in the following order

- |                             |                           |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Special appointment,     | 2. Selected appointment,  |
| 3. Recommended appointment, | 4. Delegated appointment. |



People of the following four categories have no right to participate in these examinations:

- (1) Those who have been deprived of their civil rights,
- (2) Those who have embezzled public funds,
- (3) Those who have been punished for accepting bribes,
- (4) Those who smoke opium or a substitute (Article 8).

The ordinary examination takes place once or twice a year in the national capital, in the various provinces, or in regions designated by the Examination Yuan; the high examination takes place either once a year or once every two years in the national capital and such regions as may be designated by the Examination Yuan (Article 9). Whenever necessary or upon requests of government organs, the Examination Yuan may hold special examinations (Article 17). Both the ordinary and the high examinations used to comprise a series of three tests. One who failed in the first test was disqualified at once, while one who failed in the second test could not participate in the third and final test.

Formerly those who succeeded in passing all three tests in either the ordinary examination or the high examination were appointed to government posts immediately afterwards. In August, 1939, the Examination Yuan promulgated a set of new regulations, requiring those who succeed in passing the first test of the high examination to undergo training for one year at the Central Political Institute before they can take the second test. The third test has been cancelled. Those who pass the second test shall receive certificates and be appointed to government posts according to law, while those who fail may repeat the training once. In May, 1940, the Examination Yuan promulgated another set of regulations, requiring those who pass the first test in the ordinary examination to undergo similar training in the Central Political Institute before they are allowed to take the second test. The third test has also been cancelled. These regulations governing the high examination were further revised in August, 1942, whereby the period of training is to range from three months to one year, and places

other than the Central Political Institute may be designated for the training of technical personnel.

*The Examination Law for Technical Personnel*, promulgated by the National Government on September 24, 1942, applies to professional and technical personnel of the following five categories who should receive government certificates according to law:

- (1) Lawyers and accountants,
- (2) Agricultural, industrial and mining technicians,
- (3) Doctors, pharmacists, dentists, veterinarians, midwives, nurses, and assistant pharmacists,
- (4) Maritime and river navigators, steamship pilots and plane pilots,
- (5) Other professional and technical men and women, who, according to law, should have government certificates.

The examination consists of two parts, written tests and the presentation of diplomas and other documents for scrutiny. Those who pass the examination receive certificates from the Examination Yuan and can register with the government organs concerned according to law.

The Ministry of Personnel Registration determines the qualifications for public service. As the number of persons selected through examinations is still small, many public functionaries receive appointment through their qualifications of having graduated from schools, served in public organs for a certain number of years, or won merit in the course of the revolution. Those without these qualifications are not eligible for appointment to government posts. During the period of service of public functionaries, the Ministry of Personnel Registration periodically checks up on their service record, taking down their merits and demerits. In actual practice, however, the heads of the various government organs have much to say about the merits or demerits, employment and removal, of their subordinates. What is left for the Ministry of Personnel Registration to do is to examine the suggestions and recommendations from the responsible heads of the various government organs concerned.

TABLE SHOWING THE NUMBER OF PEOPLE WHO HAVE PASSED PUBLIC EXAMINATION

Kinds of Examination			Number of Candidates Who Have Passed	Remarks
Examination of Candidates for Elective Posts			18,447	Begun in June, 1940.
Hsien Councillors			10,205	
Hsiang-Chen representatives			8,242	
Examination of Candidates for Government Appointment			21,650	
High Examination			1,569	
Ordinary Examination			1,732	
Special Examination			18,349	Recent figures incomplete.
Examination of Professional and Technical men			500	Begun in April, 1942.
Lawyers			500	Examination for other types of professional and technical personnel under preparation.
Preliminary Examination of Participants in Public Examination			1,453	Recent figures incomplete.
TOTAL			82,647	

### THE CONTROL YUAN

The Control Yuan is the highest supervisory organ of the National Government. It has a president and a vice-president, selected and appointed in the same way as the presidents and vice-presidents of the four other Yuan. Its two principal powers are impeachment and auditing. It exercises the former through supervisory members of whom there are from 29 to 49, appointed and removed by the chairman of the National Government at the instance of the president of the Control Yuan. The term of office of the supervisory members is indefinite and they have such security as is usually enjoyed by judges.

In the exercise of the power of impeachment, the Control Yuan may make inquiries and look into the files of government offices and public organs. Officials in these offices and organs under investigation are obligated to give detailed and truthful answers. To facilitate its work, the Control Yuan divides the whole country into 16 supervisory districts each headed by a supervisory

commissioner. By May 1943, however, ten such districts had been established. They are: (1) Kiangsu, (2) Anhwei and Kiangsi, (3) Fukien and Chekiang, (4) Hunan and Hupeh, (5) Honan and Shantung, (6) Yunnan and Kweichow, (7) Kansu, Ningsia and Chinghai, (8) Kwangtung and Kwangsi, (9) Shansi and Shensi, (10) and Sinkiang.

Public functionaries of all ranks, guilty of breaches of laws and dereliction in duty, come within the power of impeachment by the Control Yuan. The supervisory members may individually bring written charges against any public functionary. The charges, however, must be accompanied by a statement of the case and by evidence. When such a charge is received by the Control Yuan, it assigns three other supervisory members to examine the charge, and if the majority of them agree, the person is to be punished. If the majority of the three supervisory members adjudge the accused person innocent, and if the supervisory members who bring forth the charge should

disagree, the Control Yuan may assign five other supervisory members to review the case and make a final decision. The president of the Control Yuan has no right to interfere with final decisions.

The supervisory members may base their impeachment charges on their own information or on information given by the people. The Control Yuan has a special office to receive such petitions and reports from the people concerning alleged breaches of laws and dereliction of duty by public functionaries. From March, 1931, up to the end of 1941, the Control Yuan received 22,619 such petitions and reports from the people. In 7,469 cases the Control Yuan communicated with government organs in various parts of the country or with courts and found out the facts about them. In 811 other cases, the Control Yuan sent its own personnel to conduct necessary investigations.

In serious cases necessitating immediate redress, the Control Yuan may simultaneously send the impeachment charges to disciplinary organs and notify the heads of the government organs concerned to take immediate measures, such as correcting the conduct of the officials concerned or temporarily removing them from office. If the responsible officials fail to take these measures, they will also be subject to punishment.

Since the beginning of the war, the Control Yuan has been charged with the additional duties of accusing, proposing, and inspecting. When a supervisory member or a supervisory commissioner finds an official delinquent in his duties and if he deems the case serious enough to require immediate action, he may send a written accusation to the president of the Control Yuan. With the latter's approval, the accusation is sent directly to the superior of the delinquent official, asking him either to remove the official concerned from his post or to take other necessary action. The power of accusation, however, unlike that of impeachment, carries with it no legal force. The superior of the delinquent official may ignore the accusation. The same is true with the other two powers of proposing and inspecting. Supervisory members or supervisory commissioners may propose certain changes in the conduct of certain officials, or inspect government organs of various ranks and public bodies, with a view to increasing efficiency. But their value is largely persuasive and not compulsory.

The Control Yuan has power to impeach any and all public functionaries, but the organs dealing out the penalties differ with the ranks of the officials impeached. If those impeached are officials appointed by the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang or are supervisory members themselves, the proper organ to mete out the penalties is the Central Supervisory Committee of the Kuomintang. Other political officials are to be punished by the Political Officials Punishment Committee under the National Government. Public functionaries in the Central Government and in the local governments above the recommended rank are to be punished by the Central Commission for the Disciplinary Punishment of Public Functionaries under the Judicial Yuan. Military officers of and above the major-general rank are to be punished by the Commission for the Disciplinary Punishment of Military Officers under the National Military Council. Officers of and below the colonel rank are to be punished by the Ministry of Military Affairs and by the Ministry of Navy (now the Naval Headquarters). Officials of and below the delegated rank in a local government are to be punished by the local Commissions for the Disciplinary Punishment of Public Functionaries.

From the establishment of the Control Yuan in 1931 up to the end of 1941, it brought charges against 1,937 public functionaries. In 1,291 of these cases, the charges brought forth definite results. Others are still pending.

The Control Yuan exercises its power of auditing through the Ministry of Auditing. This ministry has departments in 12 provinces with a status similar to that of supervisory commissioners' offices. In addition, it has auditing offices in those government organs which handle financial matters so as to audit on the spot. The power of auditing includes (1) supervising the execution of budgets, (2) examining orders for receipts and disbursements, (3) auditing final accounts, (4) investigating illegal and disloyal behavior in connection with financial matters.

In the exercise of its powers, the auditors have power of investigation. There are both pre-auditing and post-auditing. Orders issued by financial organs for the payment of funds, and receipt and expenditure papers of all government organs have to be signed by the auditors in accordance with their budgetary estimates. No payments can be made without the auditor's signature.

SIMPLIFIED TABLE SHOWING WORK OF THE CONTROL YUAN  
(July 1937—August 1942.)

YEAR	IMPEACHMENT		ACCUSATION		RECOMMENDATION		SUPERVISION OF EXAMINATION		PETITIONS RECEIVED FROM THE PEOPLE
	Number of Cases	Number of People Impeached	Number of Cases	Number of People Accused	Number of Cases	Number of Items Involved	Number of Cases	Number of Examinations Supervised	
1937 (July-Dec.)	46	71	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,427
1938	32	48	44	64	44	54	...	...	1,680
1939	50	92	65	118	129	131	24	59	941
1940	56	111	82	121	118	139	34	79	902
1941	45	69	75	106	81	87	48	111	1,178
1942 (Jan.-August)	26	42	71	108	47	49	44	79	744
TOTAL	255	433	337	517	419	460	150	328	6,872

## THE LOCAL GOVERNMENTS THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT

From the standpoint of administration China is divided into 28 provinces, plus Mongolia and Tibet. In each of these provinces there is a provincial government. The present organization of the provincial government is based on the *Revised Organic Law of the Provincial Government* promulgated by the National Government on March 23, 1931. Following are some of its important points:—

The provincial government administers all political affairs in the province in accordance with the *Fundamentals of National Reconstruction* and with laws and orders of the Central Government (Article 1). The provincial government has the authority to issue such ordinances and regulations as are necessary for the administration of provincial affairs so long as they do not conflict with Central Government laws and orders, but no provincial ordinances and regulations restricting the people's freedom and increasing the people's tax burden shall be enforced without the approval of the National Government (Article 2). The provincial government has the authority to rescind and nullify orders and measures issued or taken by its subordinate organs if it should deem

such orders and measures contrary to existing laws and orders, exceeding the sphere of competence of the subordinate organs concerned, or improper for some other reasons (Article 3).

Each provincial government has from seven to nine members, all appointed by the National Government, who form the provincial commission; the chairman of the provincial government is appointed by the National Government from among members of the provincial commission; neither the chairman nor the members of the provincial commission may hold concurrent posts in another province (Article 4). Decisions by the provincial commission is necessary on the following matters:

- (1) Matters stipulated in Article 2 and Article 3 of this law,
- (2) Increase or alteration in the people's tax burden,
- (3) Demarcation or alteration of administrative districts,
- (4) Provincial preliminary and final budgetary estimates,
- (5) Disposal of public property and planning of provincial enterprises,
- (6) Execution of matters assigned to it by the National Government,



- (7) Supervision of local self-government,
- (8) Provincial administrative measures or alterations,
- (9) Transfer of national troops from one part of the province to another and the supervision of local armed units for the maintenance of peace and order,
- (10) Appointment and removal of all officials in and under the provincial government,
- (11) Other matters on which decision may be deemed necessary by the provincial commission (Article 5).

The chairman of the provincial government has the following powers:

- (1) To summon the provincial commission to meet and to preside over it as chairman,
- (2) To execute decisions of the provincial commission on behalf of the provincial government,
- (3) To supervise the functions of all administrative organs in the province on behalf of the provincial government,
- (4) To handle routine and emergency matters of the provincial government (Article 6).

If the chairman of the provincial government should for various reasons be unable to exercise his duties, members of the provincial commission may select from among themselves one to act for the chairman for one month at most (Article 7).

The provincial government has the following departments:

- (1) Secretariat,
- (2) Civil Affairs Department,
- (3) Finance Department,
- (4) Education Department,
- (5) Reconstruction Department.

Whenever necessary, it may have an Industry Department and other special organs (Article 8). The secretariat has a secretary-general who takes care of the secretariat under orders from the chairman of the provincial government (Article 15). Each of the regular departments has a commissioner, to be selected from among members of the provincial commission and appointed by the National Government at the instance of the Executive Yuan (Article 16). In case of dispute over competence among the various departments, the provincial

government petitions the Executive Yuan for decision (Article 18). By-laws of the various departments are to be decided by the provincial commission (Article 20).

#### OFFICE OF THE SPECIAL ADMINISTRATIVE INSPECTOR

Most of China's provinces are unusually large. In order to facilitate administration, the office of special administrative inspector has been created to serve as an additional link between the provincial government and *hsien* (county) governments under its jurisdiction. The existing regulations governing the office of the Special Administrative Inspector were promulgated by the Executive Yuan on March 25, 1936, and were subsequently revised on October 13 of the same year. These regulations were drawn up after careful study of the experience gained during the years of the bandit-suppression campaign in Central China provinces. Since conditions in the various provinces differ to a certain extent, the regulations are worded with due elasticity.

According to these regulations, the special administrative inspector is appointed by the Executive Yuan at the instance of the provincial government. Often a magistrate himself, he is empowered to investigate, direct and supervise the functioning of *hsien* (county) governments within his jurisdiction under the guidance of the provincial government. He has the right to suggest to the provincial government reforms or the undertaking of new functions by *hsien* within his jurisdiction. He may send confidential reports to the provincial government for the rewarding of the worthy and punishment of the unworthy among local officials. He is concurrently commander of the police and peace preservation corps in his area.

The special administrative inspector makes frequent tours in the various *hsien* (county) under his control. He is authorized to convene administrative conferences of magistrates, functionaries of local self-governing organs and representatives of public bodies for the purpose of discussing ways and means of improving local administration and in order to lay out working program for the various units.

The Standing Committee of the Kuomintang Central Executive Committee at its meeting on May 31, 1938, adopted the Regulations to Unify Administration in the War Areas. When his area falls into enemy hands,

the special administrative inspector may set up a secret provisional office at a suitable place and continue to lead the various *hsien* under his jurisdiction in resistance activities (Article 2). If the original special administrative inspector cannot participate in such secret resistance activities, a proper man, preferably one having had military training and administrative experience, should be appointed to replace him (Articles 3, 4). All party and political workers, local self-defense units, and small units of regular troops in the area concerned, should take orders from the special administrative inspector (Article 7). The special administrative inspector or the *hsien* magistrates under him are to be rewarded for meritorious service or court-martialled for failure in duty (Article 9). The special administrative inspector and those working under him should keep in close contact with personnel assigned to similar secret work in neighboring areas (Article 10).

#### THE MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT

The existing *Organic Law of Municipality* was promulgated by the National Government on May 20, 1930. In accordance with this law, there are two kinds of municipalities, special and ordinary. Special municipalities, so called because they are under the direct control of the Executive Yuan, comprise (1) the national capital, (2) cities that have a population of over 1,000,000, and (3) cities that possess special political, economic and cultural importance. There are at present seven special municipalities, namely, Nanking, Shanghai, Peiping, Tientsin, Tsingtao (all five now under Japanese military occupation), Chungking and Sian (both are auxiliary capitals).

Ordinary municipalities, coming under the provincial governments concerned comprise (1) seats of provincial governments, (2) cities that have a population of over 200,000, and (3) cities that possess special political, economic and cultural importance and have a population of over 100,000. The following cities are ordinary municipalities: Lienyung, Hangchow, Nanchang, Kiukiang, Hankow, Wuchang, Amoy, Canton, Swatow, Tsinan, Paotow (all 11 now under Japanese military occupation), Changsha, Chengtu, Kwei-yang, Kunming, Lanchow, Hengyang, Kweilin, Nanning, Kukong (Shaokwan) and Tzeliutzing.

A municipality, either special or ordinary, is divided into a number of

*chu* (district); a *chu* comprises 10 to 20 *pao*; a *pao* comprises 10 to 30 *chia*; and a *chia* comprises 10 to 30 households.

The demarcation of municipal areas is decided, in the case of special municipalities, by the National Government at the instance of the Executive Yuan and in the case of ordinary ones by the National Government at the instance of the Executive Yuan upon the recommendation of the provincial governments concerned. Chinese of either sex, above 20 years of age, having resided in a municipality for over one year or having established domicile there for over two years, may, after having taken an oath to be loyal to the Republic and faithful to the Three People's Principles, become citizens of that particular municipality. They have the right to attend the Residents' General Meeting and exercise the powers of election, recall, initiative and referendum. These rights, however, are denied to people who fall within the following five categories:

- (1) Those who were opposed to the Revolution and have been found guilty and sentenced accordingly,
- (2) Corrupt officials and debased gentry who have been found guilty and sentenced accordingly,
- (3) Those who have been deprived of their civic rights,
- (4) Those prohibited by law from owning property,
- (5) Those who smoke opium or use its substitutes.

Within the scope set by laws and orders issued by the Central Government and superior organs, the municipality may undertake the following matters:

- (1) Census-taking and personnel registration,
- (2) Relief of orphans, oldsters, paupers and victims of famines,
- (3) Storage and regulation of food supplies,
- (4) Agricultural, industrial and commercial reform and protection,
- (5) Labor administration,
- (6) Afforestation, reclamation, animal husbandry, fishing and hunting, and measures for their protection and the suppression of harmful practices,
- (7) Supervision of privately-owned public utilities,
- (8) Organization and direction of cooperatives and mutual-help enterprises,
- (9) Customs reforms,

- (10)\* Educational and other cultural activities,
- (11) Public safety,
- (12) Fire prevention service,
- (13) Public health,
- (14) Establishment of hospitals, marts, abattoirs, and places of public amusements and the suppression of harmful practices,
- (15) Compilation of financial receipts and expenditures, preliminary and final budgetary estimates,
- (16) Management of public property and its disposal,
- (17) Undertaking and management of public enterprises,
- (18) Land administration,
- (19) Building of public houses, parks, public athletic grounds and public cemeteries and their repairs,
- (20) Direction to the people in house-construction and the suppression of illegal practices,
- (21) Building of roads, bridges, sewage system, embankment and other public works of civil engineering,
- (22) Management of rivers, harbors, and navigation,
- (23) Matters assigned by superior organs,
- (24) Other matters which, according to laws and orders, should be undertaken by the municipality.

The receipts of the municipality come from the following:

- (1) Land tax,
- (2) House tax,
- (3) Business tax,
- (4) License tax,
- (5) Advertising tax,
- (6) Income from public property,
- (7) Income from public enterprises,
- (8) Other taxes and levies authorized by law.

In the case of the first two items of income, various stipulations of law, if any, shall be adhered to. The municipality may issue reconstruction bonds in accordance with law.

In accordance with law, the municipal government takes charge of all administrative affairs in the municipality and

supervises its subordinate organs and self-governing bodies. The municipality may issue ordinances and regulations so long as they are not incompatible with laws and orders. The municipal government is headed by a mayor. In the case of a special municipality, the mayor is appointed by the National Government at the instance of the Executive Yuan and is of the selected rank (2nd class). In the case of an ordinary municipality, the mayor is appointed by the National Government at the instance of the Executive Yuan upon the recommendation of the provincial government concerned, and is of the recommended rank (3rd class).

The municipal government has the following bureaus:

- (1) Social Affairs Bureau,
- (2) Public Safety Bureau (now known as Police Bureau),
- (3) Finance Bureau,
- (4) Public Works Bureau.

Whenever necessary, the municipal government, upon approval by its superior organ, may have the following additional bureaus:

- (1) Education Bureau,
- (2) Public Health Bureau,
- (3) Land Bureau,
- (4) Public Utilities Bureau,
- (5) Harbor Bureau.

Both in the national capital and in seats of provincial governments, no separate public safety bureaus are necessary, as all police matters are to be undertaken by the Metropolitan Police Department or by the provincial capital police organs. Whenever necessary, the ordinary municipality may reduce the size of all bureaus except the public safety bureau, or even change them into sections.

Helping the mayor are one secretary-general, two counsellors, and the directors of the various bureaus. If necessary, the municipal government may employ a number of technical personnel.

The municipal affairs council, composed of the mayor, counsellors, and directors of the various bureaus, meets once a month. In cities where municipal representative councils have been formed, these councils may elect from among themselves from three to five delegates to attend the municipal affairs council meetings.

### THE HSIEN GOVERNMENT

The organization of the *hsien* government and various units in the *hsien* is stipulated in the *Organic Outline of Various Graded Units in the Hsien* which was promulgated by the National Government on September 19, 1939.

The *hsien* (county) is a unit of local self-government, and it shall retain its existing area (Article 1). There shall be from three to six classes of *hsien*, depending on their area, population, economic conditions, cultural status and communication facilities (Article 2). Under the *hsien* there shall be *hsiang* (in rural areas) or *chen* (in urban areas) and the *hsiang* (or *chen*) shall be further sub-divided into *pao* (borough) and *chia* (ward), and if a *hsien* is unusually large and has special conditions, it may be first divided into a number of *chu* (district) each under a *chu* office (Article 4). Both the *hsien* and the *hsiang* (or *chen*) are legal persons (Article 5). All citizens of the Republic of China over twenty years of age, irrespective of sex, having lived within a *hsien* for over six months or having had a domicile there for over one year, are citizens of the *hsien* concerned, and may, in accordance with law, exercise the rights of election, recall, initiative and referendum; persons within any one of the following categories cannot qualify as citizens:

- (a) Those who have been deprived of their civic rights.
- (b) Those who have defaulted with public funds.
- (c) Those who have been punished for bribery or embezzlement.
- (d) Those who have been prohibited from owning property.
- (e) Those who consume opium and its substitutes (Article 6).

Each *hsien* government shall have a magistrate, who shall administer all affairs of *hsien* self-government under the supervision of the provincial government, and execute, under the direction of the provincial government, all orders of the Central Government and the provincial government (Article 7). In the *hsien* government there shall be sections to handle civil affairs, finance, education, reconstruction, military affairs, land administration, and social welfare (Article 8). The *hsien* government shall be staffed by secretaries, section heads, directors (school inspectors), police officers, section members, technicians, assistant technicians, clerks, and police

sergeants (Article 9). In the *hsien* government there shall be a *hsien* affairs council meeting once every two weeks to discuss and decide resolutions to be presented to the *hsien* representative council and other important affairs concerning *hsien* administration (Article 11). The *hsien* administrative council may continue to meet pending the formation of the *hsien* representative council (Article 12).

In each *hsien* there shall be a *hsien* representative council which shall be formed by delegates elected by the *hsiang* (or *chen*) councils at the rate of one delegate from each *hsiang* (or *chen*), and legally organized professional groups may also send delegates but their number shall not exceed three-tenths of the total (Article 15). In principle, the *hsien* representative council shall elect its own speaker (Article 16).

The receipts of the *Hsien* come from the following:

- (a) Part of the land tax (the whole of all *hsien* land surtaxes in case of *hsien* where the Land Law has not yet been enforced).
- (b) Surplus of land tax and of its surtax after the completion of land registration.
- (c) Thirty per cent of the stamp tax set aside by the Central Government to help finance *hsien* administration.
- (d) Tax on improvements on land (or house tax in case of *hsien* where the Land Law has not yet been enforced).
- (e) Part of the business tax (or the entire butchery tax and over twenty per cent of all other business taxes pending the revision in rates in accordance with the Business Tax Law).
- (f) Income from *hsien* public property.
- (g) Income from *hsien* public enterprises.
- (h) Other legally permitted taxes and levies (Article 18).

Expenses incurred for national or provincial affairs shall be defrayed by the national treasury or the provincial treasury. The *hsien* government will not be ordered to raise funds locally to meet such expenses; in a financially self-sufficient *hsien*, its administrative and enterprise expenses shall be paid by the *hsien* treasury; in the case of



*hsien* whose income is not enough to meet its expenses, it shall receive a certain amount of financial subsidy from the provincial treasury; in the case of a sparsely populated *hsien*, funds needed for its development shall be paid by the provincial treasury, and any further deficiency shall be met by the national treasury (Article 19). In order to meet reconstruction needs, the *hsien* government, upon the resolution of the *hsien* representative council and with the approval of the provincial government, may in accordance with law issue *hsien* loans (Article 20). Pending the formation of the *hsien* representative council, *hsien* preliminary and final budgetary estimates shall be examined and approved by the *hsien* administrative council first and then presented by the magistrate to the provincial government for approval (Article 22).

In its organization, the *chu* shall in principle have from fifteen to thirty *hsiang* (or *chen*) (Article 24). The *chu* office shall be an auxiliary organ of the *hsien* government. It shall represent the *hsien* government in supervising and directing the various *hsiang* (or *chen*) in executing administrative and self-government matters (Article 25). In the *chu* office there shall be a *chu* chief and from two to five directors separately in charge of civil affairs, finance, reconstruction, education and military affairs (Article 26). At the seat of the *chu* office there shall be a police bureau which shall be subject to the direction of the *chu* in carrying out police functions in the locality (Article 27). A *chu* reconstruction committee may be established by inviting noted residents in the *chu* to serve as members (Article 28).

In its organization the *hsiang* (or *chen*) shall in principle have ten *pao*; there shall not be fewer than six *pao*, or more than fifteen (Article 29). In each *hsiang* (or *chen*) there shall be a *hsiang* (or *chen*) chief and from one to two deputy chiefs (Article 31). In the *hsiang* (or *chen*) there shall be four divisions in charge of civil affairs, police and defense matters, economic affairs and cultural matters, each having a division head and several junior secretaries (Article 32). The tenure of office of both the *hsiang* (or *chen*) chief and deputy chiefs is two years and they shall be eligible for re-election (Article 33). For the time being the *hsiang* (or *chen*) chief, the principal of the *chung-hsin* (central) school and captain of the *hsiang* (or *chen*) able-

bodied men's corps shall be one and the same man but in economically and educationally progressive places, the principal of the *hsiang* (or *chen*) *chung-hsin* school shall be a full-time man (Article 34). Matters initiated directly by the *hsiang* (or *chen*) shall be approved by the *hsiang* (or *chen*) affairs council before their execution (Article 35).

Delegates of the *hsiang* (or *chen*) representative council shall be elected by the *pao* general assembly at the rate of two delegates from each *pao* (Article 38). If a *hsiang* (or *chen*) chief is elected by the *hsiang* (or *chen*) representative council, he may become concurrently chairman of the *hsiang* (or *chen*) representative council.

The receipts of the *hsiang* (or *chen*) come from the following:

- (a) Such income as authorized by law.
- (b) Income from *hsiang* (or *chen*) property.
- (c) Income from *hsiang* (or *chen*) public enterprises.
- (d) Subsidies.
- (e) Provisional levies adopted by the *hsiang* (or *chen*) assembly, with the approval of the *hsien* government (Article 41).

Income from *hsiang* (or *chen*) property shall be made the subject of general budgetary estimates by the *hsiang* (or *chen*) office and presented to the *hsien* government for approval and inclusion in the *hsien* general budgetary estimates (Article 44).

Each *pao* shall in principle have ten *chia*, but the number of constituent *chia* shall not be fewer than six or more than fifteen (Article 43). In densely populated places such as a village or a street which forms a natural and indivisible unit, two or three *pao* may jointly establish a *kuo-min* (people's) school, a cooperative, a granary and other organs, and one of the *pao* chiefs shall be elected as the presiding *pao* chief, but the able-bodied men's corps, however, shall still be organized on individual *pao* basis (Article 46). In each *pao* there shall be an office headed by a *pao* chief and a deputy chief to be elected by the *pao* assembly from among its citizens (Article 47). The tenure of office of the *pao* chief and deputy chief is two years and they shall be eligible for re-election (Article 48). For the time being, the *pao* chief, the principal of the *pao kuo-min* (people's) school and the

captain of the *pao* able-bodied men's corps shall be one and the same man, but in economically and educationally developed areas, the principal of the *kuo-min* (people's) school shall in principle be a full-time worker (Article 49). In the *pao* office there shall be from two to four junior secretaries separately in charge of civil affairs, police-defense matters, economic affairs and cultural matters; these posts shall be filled by the *pao* deputy chief and teachers in the *kuo-min* (people's) school (Article 50). Each household may send a delegate to the *pao* general assembly (Article 52). Each *chia* shall in principle comprise

ten households; the number of households shall not be fewer than six or more than fifteen (Article 53). Each *chia* shall have a *chia* chief, who shall be elected by the household heads' council (Article 54). In the *chia* there shall be a household heads' council; and whenever necessary, a *chia* residents' meeting may be held (Article 55).

This *Organic Outline* shall become effective on the date of its promulgation (Article 59). When it goes into effect, such parts of laws and orders as are contradictory with it shall be temporarily suspended (Article 60).

TABLE SHOWING ENFORCEMENT OF THE NEW HSIEN SYSTEM IN  
VARIOUS PROVINCES

PROVINCE	Number of Hsien			Hsien government structure readjusted in accordance with the new system	Chu offices readjusted in accordance with the new system		Hsiang (Chen) offices organized in accordance with the new system	Pao offices organized in accordance with the new system	Number of Pao and Chia organized in accordance with the new system		Number of Chunghsin and Kuomin Primary Schools Established		Health Organizations Established	Number of Co-operators Established			Militiamen Trained				
	Total	Hsien where the new system has been enforced	Hsien where the new system has not yet been enforced		Number Existing	Number Abolished			Pao	Chia	Chunghsin	Kuomin		Hsien Health Institute	Chu and Hsiang Stations	Hsien Co-ops.	Hsiang (Chen) Co-ops.	Pao Co-ops.	Militiamen given general training	Militiamen given intensive training	Staff officers of militia men trained
Anhui	62	34	28	34	120	74	2,018	23,143	23,780	264,551	2,858	9,279	36	10	215	750	560,059	23,608	6,560		
Chekiang	76	76	..	76	278	..	3,132	42,971	42,971	447,410	1,291	7,031	60	19	319	761	46,010	46,010	34,066		
Chinghai	17	11	6	11	38	..	234	937	937	10,018	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		
Fukien	64	64	..	64	183	..	1,428	15,514	15,640	164,320	2,318	8,599	64	1	24	342	416,255	50,646	27,118		
Honan	111	67	44	67	27	200	1,212	6,787	31,930	360,140	1,675	11,433	57	3	10	..	2,201,784	149,400	1,081		
Hunan	75	46	29	75	..	..	1,609	20,422	20,422	289,376	1,603	18,819	75	2	8	502	1,792,983	85,128	1,896		
Hupeh	70	61	9	61	72	173	1,381	32,888	36,543	355,621	466	8,467	17	..	26	195	124,127	17,414	10,318		
Kansu	67	18	49	64	209	..	246	2,503	2,503	23,987	532	2,492	20	..	..	..	959,425	19,551	472		
Kiangsi	83	69	14	69	229	..	1,847	18,346	18,346	124,777	905	3,256	83	63	314	..	..	23,252	71,043		
Kiangsu	61	21	40	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		
Kwangsi	99	74	25	99	28	46	2,343	23,992	23,992	238,323	2,163	18,534	26	2	17	719	815,445	18,337	961		
Kwangtung	97	39	58	63	120	56	2,185	30,898	59,864	560,687	1,664	13,689	73	1	108	1,819	171,555	162,896	102,617		
Kweichow	80	12	68	12	25	..	278	15,301	15,301	155,464	609	830	76	39	47	102	301,595	20,848	26,303		
Ningxia	13	13	..	13	..	..	131	642	642	8,471	..	..	..	..	2	57	..	..	..		
Shantung	107	12	95	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		
Shensi	92	74	18	92	..	..	884	6,550	6,550	133,012	502	4,000	54	6	..	230	628,186	81,648	8,487		
Sikang	46	4	42	4	..	..	79	1,086	2,666	24,889	..	..	..	1	..	5	9,473	6,143	4,166		
Szechwan	137	137	..	137	241	233	4,638	62,843	62,843	723,372	3,709	27,838	65	..	54	66	1,048,835	185,989	123,909		
Yunnan	112	112	..	112	..	..	1,424	13,544	13,544	146,447	1,011	8,328	77	6	..	..	..	21,990	7,158		
TOTAL	1,469	944	525	1,053	1,570	782	25,069	318,367	378,474	4,030,865	21,306	142,595	783	905	1,144	5,548	9,029,722	912,860	426,155		

Table prepared by the Ministry of Interior.

Source : Reports submitted by various provincial governments up to December, 1941

## WAR-AREA HSIEN ADMINISTRATION

Following the outbreak of the war in July, 1937, and the spread of hostilities over a wide area, numerous *hsien* became war areas. To guide the activities of such *hsien* governments, the Executive Yuan stipulated that if a *hsien* in the war area is cut off from the provincial government, the office of special administrative inspector in that area may direct and supervise affairs of the *hsien* concerned; when the *hsien* is cut off even from the office of the special administrative inspector in charge, a similar office in a neighboring area may take over the direction and supervision; if the *hsien* is cut off from all superior organs, the magistrate may exercise discretionary powers (Article 2). If a *hsien* is threatened with enemy penetration, the *hsien* government may, in advance, select a suitable place within its jurisdiction and, with the approval of the office of the special administrative inspector of the area, establish a provisional *hsien* office there; if the enemy actually invades the *hsien*, the *hsien* government may, upon the approval of the office of the special administrative inspector in charge, move to the provisional *hsien* office, and if the *hsien* government cannot carry on its functions from places within its jurisdiction, it may establish a provisional office either on the border or in a neighboring *hsien*, and report to military and political authorities on the spot afterwards; if the place where the *hsien* government intends to set up its provisional office is garrisoned, approval from the garrison commander must be secured first (Article 3).

The organization of a war-area *hsien* government is to be simplified as much as possible. The *hsien* magistrate may reduce or amalgamate his staff in any way he deems fit (Article 4). The *hsien* magistrate may also abolish or merge organs and enterprises having no bearing on the prosecution of war (Article 5). Men experienced not only in *hsien* administration but in military affairs should be selected to serve as magistrates of war-area *hsien* (Article 7), who shall be concurrently commanders of self-defense units to be composed of all able-bodied men's corps, police force, peace preservation corps, militia and other self-defense units in the *hsien* (Article 8).

When planning to establish a provisional office, a war-area *hsien* government

should submit plans on the following matters to the office of the special administrative inspector in charge for approval and to the provincial government for record :

- (1) Organization and personnel in the provisional *hsien* office,
- (2) Defense of the original seat of the *hsien* government,
- (3) Command of the people's self-defense units in the *hsien*,
- (4) Summoning and reinforcement of able-bodied men,
- (5) Evacuation of old and weak, women and children and their accommodation,
- (6) Personnel remaining in occupied areas to do secret work,
- (7) Evacuation and summoning of staff workers in subordinate organs of the *hsien* government,
- (8) Custody of *hsien* public funds and store of foodstuffs,
- (9) Removal and custody of *hsien* government seal, accounts, and documents,
- (10) Disposal of military installations and commodities useful to the enemy,
- (11) Disposal of prisoners in the *hsien* jail,
- (12) Disposal of cultural and educational organs (Article 11).

During removal, the *hsien* government should keep in close contact with the national troops operating in the area and should co-ordinate its action with military movements (Article 12). Foodstuffs which cannot be easily moved should be distributed among the people (Article 13). The *hsien* magistrate in charge of a provisional *hsien* office should supervise and direct all subordinate organs and self-defense units under him to engage in the following activities :

- (1) To start guerilla warfare behind the enemy lines,
- (2) To assist the troops in building roads, digging trenches, and transporting military supplies,
- (3) To collect intelligence about the enemy and to destroy traitorous organizations,
- (4) To rescue wounded soldiers and to succor war refugees,
- (5) To organize and train able-bodied men as reserves for the troops,



- (6) To do propaganda and political work in connection with the war (Article 19). When its original seat is recovered, the *hsien* government should move back (Article 21).

#### HSIEN ADMINISTRATION IN THE WAR AREAS, JANUARY 1942

Province	A	B	C	D	E
Anhwei	33	6	21	2	...
Chekiang	51	2	22	...	...
Fukien	61	...	...	1	...
Honan	64	4	39	1	3
Hunan	73	...	2	...	...
Hupeh	31	4	25	4	6
Kiangsi	71	2	3	7	...
Kiangsu	4	1	40	...	16
Kwangtung	61	6	16	14	...
Shansi	5	6	70	13	11
Shantung	2	2	81	7	15
Suiyuan	3	...	5	...	8
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>459</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>324</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>59</b>

Source:—Reported by the statistical office of the Executive Yuan.

Notes:—A. Administration intact.

B. The magistrate remains to exercise his duties while the *hsien* is partially occupied by the enemy.

C. *Hsien* occupied by the enemy but the magistrate continues to exercise his duties in the rural area.

D. The magistrate continues to attend to his duties in a neighboring *hsien*.

E. *Hsien* under enemy control.

Various municipalities in these provinces are not included in this table.

#### REPRESENTATIVE BODIES

##### THE PEOPLE'S POLITICAL COUNCIL

When major hostilities broke out in Shanghai in August, 1937, an advisory council, composed of leaders of different political parties, was created under the Supreme National Defense Conference. As this was found inadequate, the Kuomintang National Congress, meeting in Hankow in March, 1938, in an extraordinary session, decided that a People's Political Council should be formed "to utilize the best minds in national affairs and to rally all elements in the country in time of war."

The first P.P.C. was organized in July the same year with 200 members, all selected by the Kuomintang. It had the power to receive government reports, interpellate the government, and make proposals to the government. Before putting into execution any important measure concerning domestic and foreign affairs, the government was required to submit it to the P.P.C. for consideration and endorsement. In case of emergency, however, the chairman of the Supreme National Defense Council may issue decrees. The first P.P.C. held altogether five plenary sessions: first session, July 6-15, 1938; second session, October 28-November 6, 1938; third session, February 12-21, 1939; fourth session, September 9-18, 1939; fifth session, April 1-10, 1940.

Early in 1941, the second P.P.C. met with 240 members, 40 more than in the first P.P.C. Instead of all being selected by the Kuomintang, 90 of the members were elected by the various provisional provincial and municipal assemblies both on regional and on professional basis. In addition to the powers enjoyed by the first council, the second P.P.C. could conduct investigations of matters entrusted to it by the government. The second P.P.C. held two plenary sessions: first session, March 1-10, 1941; second session, November 17-26, 1941. The third P.P.C. was organized in the summer of 1942. Out of a total 240 members, 164 were elected by provisional provincial and municipal assemblies. The third P.P.C. held its first plenary session, October 22-31, 1942.

As before, members of the third P.P.C. are divided into four groups. Group A members, totalling 164, were chosen from among those who have served in

government organs, public bodies and various private institutions in the provinces and municipalities for more than three years.

Group B members comprise five from Mongolia and three from Tibet. There are eight Group C members to represent overseas Chinese communities. Group D members, 100 in all in the first P.P.C., were increased to 138 in the second P.P.C. but reduced to 60 in the third P.P.C. They were chosen from among those who have served for more than three years in representative cultural and economic bodies or have been long devoted to political activities.

Twice as many candidates for Group B and Group C members as there are seats were nominated by the Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commission and the Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission, respectively. The names were presented by the Supreme National Defense Council to the Kuomintang Central Executive Committee which made the formal selection. Candidates for Group D members were nominated by the Supreme National Defense Council and appointed by the Kuomintang Central Executive Committee.

When each plenary session adjourns, the council elects 25 members to form a resident committee, which, during the recess of the council, is competent to listen to government reports, check up on the enforcement of the council's resolutions by the government and exercise the power of investigation within the scope set by the council itself.

The council functions in a democratic way. Only a majority quorum is necessary to the holding of a plenary session. Only a majority vote of all those present at such a session is required for the adoption of a resolution. The councillors have absolute freedom of speech in the conference rooms. Outside of it, however, they are answerable to the same laws as ordinary citizens with regard to public utterances and writings.

The council has five committees to examine government reports and resolutions from the floor. These five sub-committees deal with military affairs and matters pertaining to national defense, foreign affairs and international events, domestic affairs, financial and economic problems, and finally, educational and cultural issues.

Whenever necessary, the council may organize special committees to look into special problems or to draft special reports. The councillors may make any proposal so long as it concerns China's war of resistance and program of reconstruction, and is not incompatible with Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Three People's Principles.

The tenure of office of each council is one year. Whenever necessary, the government may lengthen it. Plenary sessions are to be held once every six months, each session lasting ten days or longer, if necessary.

### ORGANIC LAW OF THE PEOPLE'S POLITICAL COUNCIL

*(Promulgated on April 1, 1938, and revised on March, 16, 1942.)*

Article 1. The National Government, in order to utilize the best minds in national affairs and to rally all elements in the country in time of war, shall specially form a People's Political Council.

Article 2. Citizens of the Chinese Republic, of either sex and above 30 years of age and fulfilling either one of the four conditions listed below, may become members of the People's Political Council.

Article 3. The People's Political Council shall have altogether 240 members, whose allocation shall be as follows:

Group A. One hundred and sixty-four members shall be chosen from among those who have served with distinction for more than three years in any government organ, public body or private institution in the various provinces and municipalities (such as come under the direct control of the Executive Yuan); the number of councillors the various provinces and municipalities may each send to the People's Political Council shall be in accordance with the attached table; the councillors from the various provinces and municipalities shall not be confined to those having domicile in the respective areas.

Group B. Eight (five for Mongolia and three for Tibet) members shall be chosen from among those who have served with distinction for more than three years in any government organ, public body or private institution in Mongolia and Tibet, or those who have an intimate knowledge of the political and social conditions in these two places and have a high reputation.

Group C. Eight members shall be chosen from among those who have worked with distinction for more than three years in overseas Chinese communities, or those who have an intimate knowledge of the livelihood conditions of overseas Chinese and have a high reputation.

Group D. Sixty members shall be chosen from among those who have served with distinction for more than three years in important cultural or economic organizations, or those who have a high reputation for devotion to national affairs.

Article 4. The selection of members of the People's Political Council shall be in accordance with the following procedure:

- (1) Group A councillors shall be elected by the provisional representative councils in the various provinces and municipalities; unsigned ballots shall be used and those winning a greater number of votes are elected. Election by correspondence may be used when the National Government summons the People's Political Council, if the next session of the provisional people's assemblies in the various provinces and municipalities is so distant that the election cannot be completed before the convocation of the People's Political Council.
- (2) In the case of Group A councillors from provinces and municipalities where provisional representative councils have not yet been formed, the Party offices in these regions shall nominate twice as many candidates as their allocated number of councillors, and submit the names to the Supreme National Defense Council for selection by the Kuomintang Central Executive Committee.
- (3) In the case of Group B and Group C councillors, the Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commission and the Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission shall, respectively, nominate twice as many candidates as their allocated number of councillors, and submit the names to the Supreme National Defense Council for selection by the Kuomintang Central Executive Committee.
- (4) In the case of Group D councillors, the Supreme National Defense Council shall nominate twice as many candidates as the allocated number of councillors, and submit the names to the Kuomintang Central Executive Committee for selection.

Article 5. The Supreme National Defense Council shall appoint a People's Political Council

Membership Qualification Examination Committee of from nine to eleven members and shall designate one of the members to serve as chairman. The committee shall examine the following matters:

- (1) If the qualifications of any councillor chosen in accordance with provision No. 1 of Article 4 are found not in conformity with its stipulations, the committee may petition the Supreme National Defense Council to cancel his councillorship and pass the seat thus vacated to the one who won the next largest number of votes in that particular province or municipality.
- (2) If the qualifications of candidates nominated in accordance with provisions Nos. 2, 3, and 4 of Article 4 are found not in conformity with its stipulations, the committee may petition the Supreme National Defense Council to cancel their status as candidates.

Article 6. During the war of resistance, the government shall be required to submit all of its important measures regarding domestic and foreign affairs to the People's Political Council for consideration before putting them into execution. Resolutions adopted, after their approval by the Supreme National Defense Council, shall be handed, according to their nature, to the government organs concerned to be made into laws, or to become the subject matter of government mandates for general enforcement. In case of emergency or special circumstances, the chairman of the Supreme National Defense Council may, in accordance with the statute governing the organization of the Supreme National Defense Council, issue such ordinances as are necessary to meet the situation without being subject to the restriction embodied in the first two provisions of this Article.

Article 7. The People's Political Council may make proposals to the government.

Article 8. The People's Political Council shall have the right to listen to administrative reports by the government, and to interpellate the government.

Article 9. The People's Political Council may form investigation committees to investigate such matters as are entrusted to it by the government. The People's Political Council may submit the result of its investigation to the government for consideration and action.

Article 10. The tenure of office of members of the People's Political Council shall be one year. It may be prolonged whenever the government deems it necessary.

Article 11. The People's Political Council shall meet once every six months, each session lasting for ten days. Whenever it deems it

necessary, the government may prolong the period of a session, or summon an extraordinary session.

Article 12. During its recess, the People's Political Council shall form a Resident Committee of twenty-five members, to be chosen by members of the presidium and members of the council from among themselves. The functions of the Resident Committee shall be as follows:

- (1) To receive various kinds of reports from the government,
- (2) To hasten the enforcement of the Council's resolutions by the government and from time to time to investigate into the conditions of enforcement,
- (3) To exercise the rights of making proposals and conducting investigations on behalf of the council so long as it does not exceed the scope set by resolutions of the council.

Article 13. The People's Political Council may hold meetings when more than half of its members are in attendance.

Article 14. The presidents of the various Yuan, and heads of the various ministries and commissions may attend meetings of the People's Political Council but they shall not take part in voting.

Article 15. Those holding government posts are not eligible to be members of the People's Political Council. This, however, does not apply to those working in local organs of self-government, and educational and academic institutions. Present members of the provisional representative councils in the provinces and municipalities are not eligible to be members of the People's Political Council.

Article 16. The People's Political Council shall have a presidium to be formed of from five to seven persons elected by the council. The members of the presidium do not have to be members of the People's Political Council. When the People's Political Council or its Resident Committee meets, members of the presidium shall choose one of their members to act as chairman.

Article 17. These Regulations may be revised by government mandates whenever necessary.

Article 18. These Regulations shall go into force on the date of their promulgation.

### ALLOCATION OF MEMBERS OF THE PEOPLE'S POLITICAL COUNCIL

Group A. Eight councillors each from Szechwan, Hunan, Chekiang, Kiangsu, Kwangtung, Anhwei, Hopei, Shantung, Honan, Hupeh and Kiangsi; six councillors each from Shensi, Fukien, Kwangsi, and Yunnan; four councillors each from



Kweichow, Shansi, Kansu, Liaoning, and Kirin; three councillors each from Chahar, Suiyuan, Sinkiang, Shanghai and Chungking; two councillors each from Chinghai, Sikang, Ningsia, Heilungkiang, Jehol, Nanking and Peiping; one councillor each from Tientsin, Tsingtao and Sian.

Group B. Eight councillors (five for Mongolia and three for Tibet).

Group C. Eight councillors (for overseas Chinese).

Group D. Sixty councillors.

### PROVISIONAL PROVINCIAL COUNCIL

In September, 1938, two months after the First People's Political Council had held its inaugural session, the National Government promulgated the *Organic Regulations of the Provisional Provincial Council*. Up to the end of 1942, such councils had been formed in 17 provinces, namely, Szechwan, Yunnan, Kweichow, Hunan, Hupeh, Kiangsi, Kwangtung, Kwangsi, Ningsia, Chekiang, Anhwei, Honan, Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, Fukien and Sikang.

The existing organic regulations of the Provisional Provincial Council were revised and promulgated by the National Government on April 14, 1941. In establishing these councils the National Government was motivated "by a desire to utilize the best minds for the promotion of administration" in all provinces during the time of war (Article 1). All Chinese, over 25 years of age, irrespective of sex and with a middle school education or its equivalent, are eligible to become councillors, so long as they fulfil either one of two qualifications: first, they must be natives of the provinces concerned and have served with distinction for more than two years in public or private organizations in the said provinces; second, they, though not natives, must have served with distinction for more than two years in important cultural and economic organizations in the said provinces (Article 2).

The ratio of councillors chosen on geographical basis and on occupational basis is set at 6 to 4 (Article 3). Group A candidates for the provincial councils are nominated by the county governments in consultation with the local Kuomintang offices and leading civic bodies, and their names are submitted to the provincial government; twice

as many Group B candidates as the allotment are nominated by the provincial governments. Both lists are then submitted to the Executive Yuan for decision by the Supreme National Defense Council (Article 4). The Supreme National Defense Council may select councillors whose names are not on the two lists, but the number of such councillors must not exceed 20 per cent of the entire council (Article 5).

Before putting into execution any important administrative measures, the provincial government is required to present it to the provisional provincial council for discussion and decision. If the council is in recess, the provincial government must secure approval from the Executive Yuan for any action taken to cope with an emergency and report the matter to the council at its next session (Article 6). The council has power to make proposals to the provincial government, to listen to reports from the provincial government and to interpellate the provincial government (Articles 7, 9, 10). If the provincial government should find any resolution of the council impossible to execute, it may ask for reconsideration at its next session, but if two-thirds of the council present should decide to uphold or revise the original decision, the provincial government, unless authorized to do otherwise by the Executive Yuan, is obligated to put the measure into execution (Article 8).

The term of office of the councillors is one year, but it may be prolonged whenever the Executive Yuan should deem it necessary (Article 11). The council meets once every six months, each session lasting for two weeks; the provincial government may prolong the session or call a special session whenever it should deem it necessary (Article 12). More than half of the councillors constitute a quorum and a majority vote by those present is necessary for the passing of any resolution (Article 13). During its recess, the council has a resident committee of five to nine members, elected by the councillors from among themselves, to listen to reports from the provincial government and to check up on the enforcement of council resolutions (Article 14). Officials in the provincial government, including the chairman, commissioners and members, may attend council sessions but they have no vote (Article 15). Those engaged in local self-government work or teaching in schools, however,

do not come under this ruling (Article 16). The council has a speaker and a deputy-speaker, selected by the Executive Yuan from among the councillors for decision by the Supreme National Defense Council (Article 17). Councillors draw no salary, they get only travelling expenses for coming to the meeting (Article 19).

The size of the existing 17 provisional provincial councils ranges from 50 as maximum to 20 as minimum. It is proportionate to the population of each province. The assemblies in Szechwan, Hunan, Kwangtung and Honan have 50 members each. Those in Hupeh and Anhwei have 45 members each. Those in Chekiang and Kiangsi have 40 members each. Those in Fukien, Kwangsi and Yunnan have 35 members each. Those in Kweichow and Shensi have 30 members each. That in Kansu has 25 members and those in Ningsia, Chinghai and Sikang have 20 councillors each. Councils meet in the provincial capitals, or, in the case of war-area provinces, they meet wherever the provincial governments concerned happen to be located.

### PROVISIONAL MUNICIPAL COUNCIL

Chungking is the only city which comes under the *Organic Regulations of the Provisional Municipal Council*, which were first promulgated by the National Government in September, 1938, and were later revised and promulgated on April 14, 1941. All essential provisions in these regulations are identical with those in the *Organic Regulations of the Provisional Provincial Council*. The purpose of the municipal council, the classification and qualifications of councillors, their method of selection, the competency of the council and the regularity of its session, are all identical with those of the provincial council. There are only three differences: First, the size of the municipal council is fixed at 25; second, the number of councillors which the Supreme National Defense Council may appoint other than candidates submitted by the municipal government, must not exceed 10 per cent of the entire council; and third, the ratio of councillors chosen by the citizens at large and by professional groups organized in accordance with law is 7 to 3.

### THE Hsien (COUNTY) COUNCIL

The existing *Provisional Organic Regulations of the Hsien Assembly* were promulgated by the National Government on August 9, 1941. The *hsien* council

shall be the representative organ of people in the entire *hsien* (Article 1). Its powers and functions (Article 2) are as follows:

- (1) To decide various matters concerning the completion of local self-government,
- (2) To decide *hsien* preliminary budgetary estimates, and to examine *hsien* final budgetary estimates,
- (3) To decide *hsien* ordinances and regulations,
- (4) To decide *hsien* taxes, bonds, and other matters concerning the increase of outlay of the *hsien* treasury,
- (5) To decide matters concerning the management and disposal of *hsien* property,
- (6) To decide on suggestions of the magistrate,
- (7) To suggest new projects and reforms in *hsien* administration,
- (8) To listen to the *hsien* government's reports and to interpellate the *hsien* government,
- (9) To receive petitions from the people,
- (10) To exercise other powers and functions as endowed by law. Decisions of the *hsien* council must not be incompatible with laws and orders of the Central Government (Article 3).

The *hsien* council is to be formed by delegates elected by the *hsiang* (or *chen*) councils in the *hsien* (Article 4). Each *hsiang* (or *chen*) is to elect one delegate; professional groups in the *hsien* may also elect their own delegates but their number must not exceed 30 per cent of the entire *hsien* council (Article 5). The term of office of *hsien* councillors is two years, and they are eligible for re-election (Article 6). Their original electorate *hsiang* (or *chen*) council or professional group may recall them by a two-thirds vote at meetings attended by more than half of their members (Article 7). The *hsien* council speaker and deputy-speaker are to be elected by *hsien* councillors from among themselves with unsigned ballots (Article 10).

The *hsien* council is to meet once every three months, each session lasting from three to seven days; the session may be lengthened whenever necessary (Article 11). A majority quorum is

required for *hsien* council sessions and a majority vote is required for decisions (Article 14). The *hsien* council may ask the *hsien* magistrate, *hsien* secretary and section chiefs in the *hsien* government to be present at its sessions either to render reports or to give explanations wanted (Article 16). The *hsien* councillors are not to be held responsible by any external authorities for their utterances or votes in the council (Article 19), and without the consent of the *hsien* council itself, no councillors may be arrested or detained (Article 20).

The *hsien* council forwards its decisions to the *hsien* magistrate for enforcement, and if the magistrate should delay in their enforcement or should enforce them improperly, the *hsien* council may demand for explanation, and if it should deem his explanation unsatisfactory, it may submit the matter to the provincial government for decision (Article 21). On the other hand, if the *hsien* magistrate should deem any resolution by the *hsien* council as improper, he may give reasons and ask the *hsien* council to reconsider it, and if he should consider the result still improper after reconsideration, he may petition the provincial government for instructions (Article 22). If the *hsien* council should pass any resolution contradictory to the Three People's Principles or contradictory to the national policy, the provincial government may submit the case to the Ministry of Interior, and with the approval of the Executive Yuan, it may dissolve the *hsien* council in question and call for the election of a new council (Article 23).

The National Government promulgated on the same day (August 9, 1941) a set of regulations governing the election of *hsien* councillors. *Hsien* citizens above 25 years of age, upon passing the examination for *hsien* council candidates or found qualified by other means, are eligible to be elected *hsien* councillors (Article 1). Only three classes of people, namely, public functionaries in the *hsien*, those in active military or police service, and students, have no right to be elected (Article 2). Those who have the right to elect and to be elected both on geographical and professional bases should participate on the geographical basis (Article 4). Geographically, each *hsiang* (or *chen*) is to elect one delegate to the *hsien* council. In *hsien* having more than 100 *hsiang* (or *chen*), several *hsiang* (or *chen*) may jointly elect one delegate; in *hsien* having less than seven *hsiang* (or *chen*), they

may still have seven members in the *hsien* council (Article 7). The election is to take place at a public *hsiang* (or *chen*) meeting and those receiving majority votes of all those present are elected (Article 8). Professionally, each group is to elect one delegate to the *hsien* council, but the number of professional delegates must not exceed more than 30 per cent of the entire council (Article 10). Six professional groups are recognized, namely, associations of farmers, fishermen, laborers, merchants, teachers, and those in free professions, and the methods of election to be used, either direct or indirect, depend on various conditions (Article 13). The civil affairs commissioner in each province is the election supervisor in that province (Article 3) and in him rests the power of interpreting the election regulations (Article 37).

#### The *Hsiang* (or *Chen*) Council

Also on August 9, 1941, the National Government promulgated the *Provisional Organic Regulations of Hsiang* (or *Chen*) Council. Each *hsiang* (or *chen*) shall have a representative council to be composed of two delegates from each component *pao*, elected by the *pao* residents' meetings (Article 7). The powers and functions of the *hsiang* (or *chen*) council (Article 8) are as follows:

- (1) To decide preliminary *hsiang* (or *chen*) budgetary estimates and to examine final *hsiang* (or *chen*) budgetary estimates,
- (2) To decide the management and disposal of *hsiang* (or *chen*) public property and public enterprises,
- (3) To decide *hsiang* (or *chen*) local self-government rules and regulations,
- (4) To decide agreements with other *hsiang* (or *chen*),
- (5) To decide on suggestions of the *hsiang* (or *chen*) chiefs,
- (6) To elect or recall the *hsiang* (or *chen*) chiefs,
- (7) To elect or recall its delegates to the *hsien* council,
- (8) To listen to reports from the *hsiang* (or *chen*) office and to interpellate the *hsiang* (or *chen*) office,
- (9) To decide new projects and reforms within the *hsiang* (or *chen*).

The term of office of *hsiang* (or *chen*) councillors is two years and they are eligible for re-election, and if they should violate laws or are malfeasant in their

duty they are to be recalled by a *pao* residents' meeting of their original electorate (Article 9). The *hsiang* (or *chen*) council meeting takes place once every two months (Article 15) and it must be attended by more than half of the councillors and its resolutions must be carried by majority votes; in recalling the *hsiang* (or *chen*) delegates to the *hsien* council, however, a vote by two-thirds of those present at the meeting shall be required (Article 16). The qualifications of *hsiang* (or *chen*) councillors and the method of their election, as stipulated in a set of regulations also promulgated on August 9, 1941, are the same as those of *hsien* councillors.

#### The *Pao* General Council

Each *pao* shall have a *pao* Council to be composed of one delegate each from its component households (Article 41) and it has the following functions and powers:

- (1) To decide *pao* and *chia* regulations within its jurisdiction,
- (2) To decide agreements with other *pao*,
- (3) To decide on drafting or recruiting *pao* people for labor service,
- (4) To decide on suggestions of the *pao*-chief or of more than five *pao* residents,
- (5) To elect or recall *pao* chief and deputy chiefs,
- (6) To elect or recall *pao* delegates to the *hsiang* (or *chen*) council,
- (7) To listen to reports of the *pao* office and to interpellate it,
- (8) To decide on new *pao* projects or reforms.

The *pao* council meeting takes place once every month (Article 42), and it must be attended by more than half of the councillors and its resolutions must be carried by a majority vote of those present (Article 43).

#### The *Chia* Council

The *chia* has two representative organs. First is the *chia* council composed of the various household heads (Article 63) and it has the following functions and powers:

- (1) To elect and recall the *chia* chief,
- (2) To enforce laws and orders,
- (3) To inspect and report census changes in the *chia*,

- (4) To decide sanitation and health matters in the *chia*,
- (5) To suggest new projects or reforms in the *chia*.

The *chia* council meets once a month.

The second one is the *chia* residents' meeting. Whenever the *chia* chief should deem it necessary, or whenever more than ten *chia* residents should so request, the *chia* residents may be summoned to a mass meeting to decide on important projects or to effect essential changes in the *chia* administration (Article 68).

#### THE CONSTITUTIONAL MOVEMENT

The history of the Chinese constitutional movement dates back at least to the first Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895. Since then various constitutions have been drafted and adopted. Among these may be mentioned the *Outline of 1905*, the *Nineteen Articles of 1911*, the *Provisional Compact of 1912*, the *Tien Tan Draft of 1913*, the so-called *Tsao Kun Constitution of 1923*.

The National Government which came into power in 1928 took the constitutional problem in a more serious manner. In accordance with Dr. Sun Yat-sen's teachings, the course of national revolution is divided into three stages of military operations, political tutelage, and constitutional government. In October, 1928, the Kuomintang to which the National Government was and is responsible, adopted a *Program of Political Tutelage*. Its principal contents were later incorporated in the *Provisional Constitution for the Period of Political Tutelage of 1931*.

At its third plenary session, in December, 1932, the fourth Kuomintang Central Executive Committee resolved that the Legislative Yuan should draw up a draft permanent constitution as soon as possible. The work got under way in 1933. The final draft was promulgated by the National Government on May 5, 1936 and a People's Congress was scheduled to meet in November, 1937, to adopt the draft and enact it as the permanent constitution. The war, which broke out in July that year, made it impossible to hold a general election of members to the People's Congress.

The fifth Kuomintang Central Executive Committee at its fourth session in November, 1939, decided to call the People's Congress in November, 1940, also for the purpose of adopting a permanent constitution. Dislocation in transportation caused by widespread



hostilities made it impracticable for about 2,000 delegates of the People's Congress to arrive in Chungking in time for the congress from areas including those under enemy occupation. As a result, another postponement became necessary.

#### PROGRAM OF POLITICAL TUTELAGE

(Adopted by the Standing Committee of the Kuomintang Central Executive Committee on October 3, 1928.)

The Kuomintang, seeking the realization of Tsungli's Three People's Principles, enacts this Program for the Period of Political Tutelage, during which, in accordance with the Program of National Reconstruction, the people will receive training in the exercise of their political powers until the commencement of constitutional government and the complete attainment of democracy by the entire people.

Article 1.—With the Republic of China entering upon its Period of Political Tutelage, the National Congress of the Kuomintang will, in the place of the People's Congress, lead the people in exercising their political powers.

Article 2.—When the Kuomintang National Congress is in recess, it entrusts the governing power to its Central Executive Committee which will exercise it in its place.

Article 3.—The people should receive training gradually to exercise their four powers of election, recall, initiative and referendum in accordance with Tsungli's stipulations in the Program of National Reconstruction, in order to lay the foundation for a constitutional government.

Article 4.—The exercise of the five administrative powers, executive, legislative, judicial, examination, and control, is to be entrusted to the National Government, in order to lay the foundation for a popularly elected government.

Article 5.—The task of directing and supervising the National Government in administering important national affairs is to be undertaken by the Political Committee of the Kuomintang Central Executive Committee.

Article 6.—The revision and interpretation of the Organic Law of the National Government is to be decided by the Political Committee of the Kuomintang Central Executive Committee.

#### PROVISIONAL CONSTITUTION FOR THE PERIOD OF POLITICAL TUTELAGE

(Adopted on May 12, 1931, by the National People's Convention, and promulgated on June 1, 1931.)

#### PREAMBLE

The National Government, in order to rebuild the Republic of China on the basis of the Three People's Principles and the Quintuple-Power

Constitution, which form the underlying principle of the Revolution, having now brought the Revolution from the Military to the Political Tutelage Period, deems it necessary to promulgate a Provisional Constitution for general observance, so that the realization of the Constitutional Government may be accelerated and political power restored to a popularly-elected Government and further, in pursuance of the Last Will of our late Leader, has called at the National Capital the National People's Convention.

The said National People's Convention does hereby enact and ordain the following Provisional Constitution for enforcement during the Political Tutelage Period:

#### I. GENERAL PRINCIPLES

Article 1.—The territory of the Republic of China consists of the various provinces and Mongolia and Tibet.

Article 2.—The sovereignty of the Republic of China is vested in the people as a whole.

All persons who, according to law, enjoy the nationality of the Republic of China shall be citizens of the Republic of China.

Article 3.—The Republic of China shall be a unified republic forever.

Article 4.—The national flag of the Republic of China shall have a red background with a "blue sky and white sun" in the upper left corner.

Article 5.—The National Capital of the Republic of China shall be at Nanking.

#### II. RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF THE PEOPLE

Article 6.—All citizens of the Republic of China shall be equal before the Law, irrespective of sex, race, religion or caste.

Article 7.—Citizens of the Republic of China shall, according to the stipulation in Article 8 of the Fundamentals of National Reconstruction enjoy in all completely autonomous hsien (counties) the rights of election, initiative, recall and referendum as provided in Article 9 of the Fundamentals of National Reconstruction.

Article 8.—Except in accordance with law, no person shall be arrested, detained, tried or punished.

When a person is arrested or detained on a criminal charge, the organ responsible for his (or her) arrest or detention shall send him (or her) to the competent court for trial not later than 24 hours. The party concerned may himself petition, or some other person may petition on his behalf that he be brought (before the court) for trial within 24 hours.

Article 9.—Except in accordance with law, no person other than those in active military service, shall be subject to trial by a military court.

Article 10.—Except in accordance with law, no private houses of the people shall be subject to forcible entry, search or sealing.

Article 11.—All persons shall have liberty of conscience.

Article 12.—All persons shall be free to choose and change their residence; such freedom shall not be denied or restricted except in accordance with law.

Article 13.—All persons shall have the right to the privacy of correspondence and telegraphic communications; such right shall not be denied or restricted except in accordance with law.

Article 14.—All persons shall have the freedom of assembly and formation of associations; such freedom shall not be denied or restricted except in accordance with law.

Article 15.—All persons shall have the freedom of speech and publication; such freedom shall not be denied or restricted except in accordance with law.

Article 16.—Except in accordance with law, no private property shall be sealed or confiscated.

Article 17.—The exercise of the right of ownership by any private owner of property, in so far as it does not conflict with the public interest, shall be protected by law.

Article 18.—Where public interest necessitates, the property of the people may be expropriated in accordance with law.

Article 19.—All persons shall have the right to inherit property in accordance with law.

Article 20.—All persons shall have the right of petition (to the government).

Article 21.—All persons shall have the right to institute judicial proceedings at the courts of justice in accordance with law.

Article 22.—All persons shall have the right to submit petitions, and institute administrative proceedings (at the administrative court) in accordance with law (for the redress of wrongs done by government administrative organs).

Article 23.—All persons shall have the right to compete in civil service examinations in accordance with law.

Article 24.—All persons may, according to law, hold public posts.

Article 25.—All persons shall have the duty of paying taxes in accordance with law.

Article 26.—All persons shall have the duty of performing military service and compulsory labor (for the State) in accordance with law.

Article 27.—All persons shall have the duty to obey the measures adopted by government organs in the performance of their duties according to law.

#### III. ESSENTIALS OF POLITICAL TUTELAGE

Article 28.—The political policies and programs during the Period of Political

Tutelage shall be in accordance with the Fundamentals of National Reconstruction.

Article 29.—The system of district autonomy shall be enforced in accordance with the provisions of the Fundamentals of National Reconstruction and the Law Governing the Institution of Hsien Autonomy.

Article 30.—During the Period of Political Tutelage, the National Congress of Kuomintang shall exercise the governing powers on behalf of the National People's Congress. During the adjournment of the National Congress the Kuomintang Central Executive Committee shall exercise the said powers.

Article 31.—The National Government shall train and guide (the citizens) in the exercise of the four political rights of election, initiative, recall and referendum.

Article 32.—The National Government shall exercise the five governing powers, namely, executive, legislative, judicial, examination, and control.

#### IV. PEOPLE'S LIVELIHOOD

Article 33.—In order to develop the people's economic welfare, the State shall afford every encouragement and protection to the productive enterprises of the people.

Article 34.—In order to develop rural economy, to improve the living conditions of farmers and to promote the well-being of peasants, the State shall take active steps for the carrying out of the following measures:—

- (1) Reclamation of all wasteland in the country and development of farm irrigation;
- (2) Establishment of agricultural banks and encouragement of co-operative enterprises in the rural communities;
- (3) Enforcement of the (public) granary system for the prevention of famine and other calamities and replenishment of the people's food supplies;
- (4) Development of agricultural education with special emphasis on scientific experiments, extensive development of agricultural enterprises, and increase of agricultural produce;
- (5) Encouragement of road-building in the rural villages to facilitate the transportation of agricultural products.

Article 35.—The State shall open and develop all coal, gold and iron mines; and shall also encourage and protect private mining enterprises.

Article 36.—The State shall undertake and inaugurate State shipping enterprises; and shall also encourage and protect private shipping enterprises.

Article 37.—All persons shall be free to choose their profession or occupation. But when it is contrary to the public interest, the State may, by law, restrict or deny such freedom.

Article 38.—All persons shall be free to make contracts; such freedom in so far as it is not in conflict with the public interest or with good morals, shall be protected by law.

Article 39.—In order to better the economic well-being and to promote closer co-operation between capital and labor, the people may form occupational organizations in accordance with law.

Article 40.—Both capital and labor shall develop productive enterprises in accordance with the principle of cooperation and mutual benefit.

Article 41.—In order to improve the living conditions of labor, the State shall put into effect various laws for the protection of labor and shall afford special protection to child and women workers in respect of their age and health.

Article 42.—In order to safeguard and relieve peasants as well as workers who shall be unable to work on account of accidents, sickness, disability or old age, the State shall put into effect a labor insurance system.

Article 43.—In order to promote the economic interests of the people, the State shall encourage and promote various cooperative enterprises.

Article 44.—The State may control or regulate the production or sale as well as the market price of daily necessities of the people.

Article 45.—Laws shall be enacted for the prohibition of usury, and exorbitant rents for the use of immovable properties.

Article 46.—The State shall give appropriate relief to those members of the national forces who are disabled in the course of active service.

#### V. EDUCATION OF THE CITIZENS

Article 47.—The Three People's Principles shall be the basic principles of education in the Republic of China.

Article 48.—Both sexes shall have equal opportunity for education.

Article 49.—All public and private educational institutions in the country shall be subject to the supervision of the State, and shall likewise be responsible for the carrying out of the educational policies adopted by the State.

Article 50.—All children of school age shall receive free education. Details shall be separately provided by law.

Article 51.—Those who have not had free education (in their youth) shall receive special adult education. Details shall be separately provided by law.

Article 52.—The Central and local government shall provide adequate funds for necessary educational expenses, and shall also safeguard the security of funds which are, by law, specially set apart (for educational purposes).

Article 53.—The State shall give encouragement or grants to private educational institutions which have achieved particularly meritorious results.

Article 54.—Encouragement and grants shall be given for the education of overseas Chinese.

Article 55.—The State shall encourage and safeguard members of the administrative or teaching staffs of schools who hold satisfactory records and have been long in service.

Article 56.—All public and private educational institutions in the country shall establish scholarships and prizes for the encouragement of deserving but needy students.

Article 57.—The State shall encourage and protect research and discoveries in science or the arts.

Article 58.—The State shall protect and preserve historic remains and ancient relics which have historical, cultural or artistic value.

#### DIVISION OF POWER BETWEEN THE CENTRAL AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

Article 59.—The principle of equilibrium shall be adopted in the division of power between the Central and local governments, as stipulated in Article 17 of the *Fundamentals of National Reconstruction*.

Article 60.—The various local governments may, within their respective spheres of authority, enact and ordain local laws and regulations. Where such laws and regulations are in conflict with those promulgated by the Central Government, they shall be null and void.

Article 61.—The demarcation of central and local revenues shall be separately determined by law.

Article 62.—The Central Government may restrict, by law, any local tax when:

- (1) It is contrary to public interest;
- (2) It encroaches upon the source of national revenue;
- (3) It constitutes overlapping taxation;
- (4) It is detrimental to communications;
- (5) It is unjustifiably imposed upon goods imported from other localities for the sole benefit of the locality concerned;
- (6) It is in the nature of a transit duty on commodities in circulation among various localities.

Article 63.—The power of granting patents and monopolies is vested in the Central Government.

Article 64.—When one of the provinces reaches the Period of Constitutionalism, the division of power between the Central and the local governments shall be defined in detail by law in accordance with the *Fundamentals of National Reconstruction*.

#### VII. ORGANIZATION OF THE GOVERNMENT

##### SECTION 1. THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

Article 65.—The National Government shall exercise all the governing powers of the Republic of China.

Article 66.—The National Government shall have supreme command over the land, naval and air forces.

Article 67.—The National Government shall have the power to declare war, to negotiate peace and to conclude treaties.

Article 68.—The National Government shall exercise the power of granting amnesties, pardons, reprieves, and restitution of civil rights.

Article 69.—The National Government shall exercise the power of conferring medals and decorations of honor.

Article 70.—The National Government shall compile and publish a budget and financial statement of the national revenues and expenditures for each fiscal year.

Article 71.—The National Government shall be composed of the following five Yuan: The Executive Yuan, the Legislative Yuan, the Judicial Yuan, the Examination Yuan and the Control Yuan; as well as various Ministries and Commissions.

Article 72.—The National Government shall have a chairman and an appropriate number of State Councillors, who shall be selected and appointed by the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang. The number of State Councillors shall be separately determined by law.

Article 73.—The chairman of the National Government shall represent the nation both internally and internationally.

Article 74.—The presidents of the five Yuan and the heads of the various Ministries and Commissions shall be appointed or dismissed in accordance with law by the National Government at the instance of the chairman of the National Government.

Article 75.—All laws shall be promulgated and mandates issued upon the signature of the chairman of the National Government according to law.

Article 76.—The various Yuan, Ministries, or Commissions may, according to law, issue orders.

Article 77.—The organization of the National Government and of various Yuan, Ministries and Commissions shall be separately determined by law.

##### SECTION 2. THE LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

Article 78.—In each province, a Provincial Government shall be established, which shall attend to the administration of provincial affairs

under the direction of the National Government. Its organization shall be separately determined by law.

Article 79.—When, as stipulated in Article 16 of the *Fundamentals of National Reconstruction*, a Province reaches the period of Constitutionalism, the (Provincial) Assembly of People's Delegates may elect a Provincial Governor.

Article 80.—The system of local government in Mongolia and Tibet shall be determined separately by law in the light of the local conditions.

Article 81.—In each *hsien* a *Hsien* Government shall be established, which shall attend to the administration of district affairs under the direction of the Provincial Government. Its organization shall be separately determined by law.

Article 82.—In each of the *hsien* a *Hsien* Autonomy Preparatory Committee shall be organized to carry out the preparations as provided in Article 8 of the *Fundamentals of National Reconstruction*. Its organization shall be separately determined by law.

Article 83.—Municipalities may be established in localities where industry and commerce, population or other special conditions warrant. The organization of such Municipalities shall be separately determined by law.

#### VIII. ANNEX

Article 84.—All laws which are in conflict with this Provisional Constitution shall be null and void.

Article 85.—The power of interpreting this Provisional Constitution shall be exercised by the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang.

Article 86.—A draft of the Permanent Constitution shall be prepared by the Legislative Yuan on the basis of the *Fundamentals of National Reconstruction* as well as the achievements during the Political Tutelage and Constitutional Periods. The said draft shall be duly made known to the people at large in preparation for its adoption and enforcement at the opportune moment.

Article 87.—When a majority of the provinces in the country reach the period of Constitutionalism—that is, when *hsien* autonomy has been completely instituted throughout each of such provinces—then the National Government shall immediately summon a National People's Convention to decide upon the adoption and promulgation of the Permanent Constitution.

Article 88.—The present Provisional Constitution shall be enacted by the National People's Convention and forwarded to the National Government for promulgation.

Article 89.—The present Provisional Constitution shall come into force on the date of its promulgation.



# THE FINAL DRAFT CONSTITUTION OF THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA

(Published May 5, 1936.)

By virtue of the mandate received from the whole body of citizens and in accordance with the bequeathed teachings of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, Founder of the Republic of China, the People's Congress of the Republic of China hereby ordains and enacts this Constitution and causes it to be promulgated throughout the land for faithful and perpetual observance by all.

## PART I.—GENERAL PROVISIONS

Article 1.—The Republic of China is a *San Min Chu I* Republic.

Article 2.—The sovereignty of the Republic of China is vested in the whole body of citizens.

Article 3.—Persons having acquired the nationality of the Republic of China are citizens of the Republic of China.

Article 4.—The territory of the Republic of China comprises areas originally constituting Kiangsu, Chekiang, Anhwei, Kiangsi, Hunan, Hupeh, Szechwan, Sikang, Hopei, Shantung, Shansi, Honan, Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, Fukien, Kwangtung, Kwangsi, Yunnan, Kweichow, Liaoning, Kirin, Heilungkiang, Jehol, Chahar, Suiyuan, Ningsia, Sinkiang, Mongolia and Tibet.

The territory of the Republic of China shall not be altered except by resolution of the People's Congress.

Article 5.—All races of the Republic of China are component parts of the Chinese Nation and shall be equal.

Article 6.—The national flag of the Republic of China shall have a red background with a blue sky and white sun in the upper inside corner.

Article 7.—The National Capital of the Republic of China shall be at Nanking.

## PART II.—RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF CITIZENS

Article 8.—All citizens of the Republic of China shall be equal before the law.

Article 9.—All citizens shall have personal liberty and, except in accordance with law, may not be arrested, detained, tried or punished.

When a citizen is arrested or detained on suspicion of having committed a criminal act, the authority responsible for such action shall immediately inform the citizen himself and his relatives of the cause for his arrest or detention and shall, within twenty-four hours, send him to a competent court for trial.

The citizen so arrested or detained, or any one else, may also petition the court to demand from the authority responsible for such action the surrender, within twenty-four hours, of his person to the court for trial.

The court shall not reject such a petition, nor shall the responsible authority refuse to execute such a writ as mentioned in the preceding paragraph.

Article 10.—No one, except those in active military service, may be subject to the jurisdiction of a court martial.

Article 11.—Every citizen shall have the freedom of domicile; no private abode may be forcibly entered, searched or sealed except in accordance with law.

Article 12.—Every citizen shall have the freedom to change his residence; such freedom shall not be restricted except in accordance with law.

Article 13.—Every citizen shall have the freedom of speech, writing and publication; such freedom shall not be restricted except in accordance with law.

Article 14.—Every citizen shall have the freedom of secrecy of correspondence; such freedom shall not be restricted except in accordance with law.

Article 15.—Every citizen shall have the freedom of religious belief; such freedom shall not be restricted except in accordance with law.

Article 16.—Every citizen shall have the freedom of assembly and forming associations; such freedom shall not be restricted except in accordance with law.

Article 17.—No private property shall be requisitioned, expropriated, sealed or confiscated except in accordance with law.

Article 18.—Every citizen shall have the right to present petitions, lodge complaints and institute legal proceedings in accordance with law.

Article 19.—Every citizen shall have the right to exercise, in accordance with law, the powers of election, recall, initiative and referendum.

Article 20.—Every citizen shall have the right to compete, in accordance with law, in State examinations.

Article 21.—Every citizen shall, in accordance with law, be amenable to the duty of paying taxes.

Article 22.—Every citizen shall, in accordance with law, be amenable to the duty of performing military service and labor service.

Article 23.—Every citizen shall, in accordance with law, be amenable to the duty of rendering public service.

Article 24.—All other liberties and rights of the citizens which are not detrimental to the social order or public welfare shall be guaranteed by the Constitution, and except in accordance with law, shall not be restricted.

Article 25.—Only laws imperative for safeguarding national security, averting a national crisis, maintaining social order or promoting public welfare may restrict a citizen's liberties and rights.

Article 26.—Any public functionary who illegally infringes upon any private liberty or right shall, besides being subject to disciplinary punishment, be responsible under criminal and civil law. The injured person may also, in accordance with law, claim indemnity from the State for damages sustained.

## PART III. THE PEOPLE'S CONGRESS

Article 27.—The People's Congress shall be constituted of delegates elected as follows:—

(1) Each *hsien*, municipality or area of an equivalent status shall elect one delegate, but in case its population exceeds 300,000, one additional delegate shall be elected for every additional 500,000 people. The status of areas to be equivalent to a *hsien* or municipality shall be defined by law.

(2) The number of delegates to be elected from Mongolia and Tibet shall be determined by law.

(3) The number of delegates to be elected by Chinese citizens residing abroad shall be determined by law.

Article 28.—Delegates to the People's Congress shall be elected by universal, equal, and direct suffrage and by secret ballots.

Article 29.—Citizens of the Republic of China having attained the age of twenty years shall, in accordance with law, have the right to elect delegates. Citizens having attained the age of twenty-five years shall, in accordance with law, have the right to be elected delegates.

Article 30.—The term of office of delegates to the People's Congress shall be six years.

When a delegate is found guilty of violation of a law or neglect of his duty, his constituency shall recall him in accordance with law.

Article 31.—The People's Congress shall be convened by the President once every three years. Its sessions shall last one month, but may be extended another month when necessary.

Extraordinary sessions of the People's Congress may be convened at the instance of two-fifths or more of its members.

Extraordinary sessions of the People's Congress may be convened by the President.

The People's Congress shall be held at the seat of the Central Government.

Article 32.—The powers and functions of the People's Congress shall be as follows:—

(1) To elect the President and Vice-President of the Republic, the President and Vice-President of the Legislative Yuan, the President and Vice-President of the Control Yuan, the Members of the Legislative Yuan and the Members of the Control Yuan.

(2) To recall the President and Vice-President of the Republic, the President and Vice-President of the Legislative Yuan, the President and Vice-President of the Judicial Yuan, the President and Vice-President of the Examination Yuan, the President and Vice-President of the Control Yuan, the Members of the Legislative Yuan and the Members of the Control Yuan.

(3) To initiate laws.

(4) To hold referenda on laws.

(5) To amend the Constitution.

(6) To exercise such other powers as are conferred by the Constitution.

Article 33.—Delegates to the People's Congress shall not be held responsible outside of the Congress for opinions they may express or votes they may cast at the meeting of the Congress.

Article 34.—Without the permission of the People's Congress, no delegate shall be arrested or detained during the session except when apprehended in *flagrante delicto*.

Article 35.—The organization of the People's Congress, the election as well as recall of its delegates, and the rules of procedure governing the exercise of its powers and functions shall be determined by law.

## PART IV. THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT CHAPTER I.—THE PRESIDENT

Article 36.—The President is the head of the State and represents the Republic of China in foreign relations.

Article 37.—The President shall command the land, sea and air forces of the whole country.

Article 38.—The President shall, in accordance with law, promulgate laws and issue mandates with the counter-signature of the President of the Yuan concerned.

Article 39.—The President shall, in accordance with law, exercise the power of declaring war, negotiating peace and concluding treaties.

Article 40.—The President shall, in accordance with law, declare and terminate a state of emergency.

Article 41.—The President shall, in accordance with law, exercise the power of granting amnesties, special pardons, remission of sentences and restitution of civil rights.

Article 42.—The President shall, in accordance with law, appoint and remove civil and military officials.

Article 43.—The President shall, in accordance with law, confer honors and award decorations.

Article 44.—In case of an emergency or a serious economic change which requires immediate steps to be taken, the President may, by resolution of the Executive Meeting, issue emergency mandates necessary to cope with the situation; provided that such mandates shall, within three months after issue, be submitted to the Legislative Yuan for confirmation.

Article 45.—The President may summon a meeting of the presidents of the five Yuan for the purpose of consultation or discussion of matters appertaining to two or more Yuan.

Article 46.—The President shall be responsible to the People's Congress.

Article 47.—Citizens of the Republic of China having attained the age of forty years may be elected President or Vice-President of the Republic.

Article 48.—The election of the President and Vice-President shall be provided for by law.

Article 49.—The President and Vice-President shall hold office for a term of six years and may be re-elected for a second term.

Article 50.—The President shall, on the day of his inauguration, take the following oath:—

"I do solemnly and sincerely swear before the people that I will observe the Constitution faithfully, perform my duties, promote the welfare of the people, safeguard the security of the State and be loyal to the trust of the people. Should I break my oath, I will submit myself to the most severe punishment the law may provide."

Article 51.—In case of the President's office becoming vacant, the Vice-President shall succeed to the presidency; in case the President is incapacitated by any cause, the Vice-President shall discharge the duties of his office. In case both the President and the Vice-President are incapacitated, the President of the Executive Yuan shall discharge the duties of the President's office.

Article 52.—The President shall retire from office on the day his term expires. If by that time a new President has not been inaugurated, the President of the Executive Yuan shall discharge the duties of the President's office.

Article 53.—The period for the President of the Executive Yuan to discharge the duties of the President's office shall not exceed six months.

Article 54.—Except in case of an offence against the internal or external security of the State,

the President shall not be liable to criminal prosecution until he has been recalled or has retired from office.

## CHAPTER 2.—THE EXECUTIVE YUAN

Article 55.—The Executive Yuan is the highest organ through which the Central Government exercises its executive powers.

Article 56.—In the Executive Yuan there shall be a President, a Vice-President and a number of Executive Members to be appointed and removed by the President.

The number of Executive Members as mentioned in the preceding paragraph, excluding the Ministers and Chairmen of Commissions, shall not exceed half the total number of Ministers and Chairmen of Commissions as provided for in the first paragraph of Article 58.

Article 57.—In the Executive Yuan, there shall be various Ministries and Commissions which shall separately exercise their respective executive powers.

Article 58.—The Ministers of the various Ministries and the Chairmen of the various Commissions shall be appointed by the President from among the Executive Members.

The President and Vice-President of the Executive Yuan may concurrently serve as Ministers and Chairmen of Commissions as mentioned in the preceding paragraph.

Article 59.—The President and the Vice-President of the Executive Yuan, the Executive Members, the Ministers of the various Ministries and the Chairmen of the various Commissions shall be individually responsible to the President.

Article 60.—In the Executive Yuan there shall be Executive Meetings composed of the President and Vice-President of the Executive Yuan and the various Executive Members, to be presided over by the President of the Executive Yuan.

Article 61.—The following matters shall be decided at an Executive Meeting:—

- (1) Statutory and budgetary bills to be submitted to the Legislative Yuan.
- (2) Bills concerning a state of emergency and amnesty to be submitted to the Legislative Yuan.
- (3) Bills concerning declaration of war, negotiation of peace, conclusion of treaties and other important international affairs to be submitted to the Legislative Yuan.
- (4) Matters of common concern to the various Ministries and Commissions.
- (5) Matters submitted by the President or President of the Executive Yuan.
- (6) Matters submitted by the Vice-President of the Executive Yuan, the Executive Members, the various Ministries and Commissions.

Article 62.—The organization of the Executive Yuan shall be determined by law.

## CHAPTER 3. THE LEGISLATIVE YUAN

Article 63.—The Legislative Yuan is the highest organ through which the Central Government exercises its legislative powers. It shall be responsible to the People's Congress.

Article 64.—The Legislative Yuan shall have the power to decide on measures concerning legislation, budgets, a state of emergency, amnesty, declaration of war, negotiation of peace, conclusion of treaties and other important international affairs.

Article 65.—In the discharge of its duties the Legislative Yuan may interrogate the various Yuan, Ministries and Commissions.

Article 66.—In the Legislative Yuan there shall be a President and a Vice-President each of whom shall hold office for a term of three years and may be eligible for re-election.

Article 67.—Members of the Legislative Yuan shall be elected by the People's Congress from a list of candidates separately nominated by the delegates of the various provinces, Mongolia, Tibet, and citizens residing abroad. The candidates need not be delegates to the People's Congress. The respective number of candidates shall be proportioned as follows:—

- (1) A province with a population of less than 5,000,000 shall nominate four candidates. A province with a population of more than 5,000,000 but less than 10,000,000 shall nominate six candidates. A province with a population of more than 10,000,000 but less than 15,000,000 shall nominate eight candidates. A province with a population of more than 15,000,000 but less than 20,000,000 shall nominate ten candidates. A province with a population of more than 20,000,000 but less than 25,000,000 shall nominate twelve candidates. A province with a population of more than 25,000,000 but less than 30,000,000 shall nominate fourteen candidates. A province with a population of more than 30,000,000 shall nominate sixteen candidates.
- (2) Mongolia and Tibet shall each nominate eight candidates.
- (3) Citizens residing abroad shall nominate eight candidates.

Article 68.—Members of the Legislative Yuan shall hold office for a term of three years and may be eligible for re-election.

Article 69.—The Executive Yuan, Judicial Yuan, Examination Yuan, and Control Yuan may submit to the Legislative Yuan measures concerning matters within their respective jurisdiction.

Article 70.—The President may, before promulgation or execution of a legislative measure adopted by the Legislative Yuan, request the said Yuan to reconsider it.

If the Legislative Yuan, after reconsideration, decides to confirm the original measure so referred to it in accordance with the preceding paragraph by a vote of two-thirds or more of its members present, the President shall immediately promulgate or execute the said measure; provided that measures concerning legislation and conclusion of treaties may be submitted to the People's Congress for reference.

Article 71.—The President shall promulgate a measure presented by the Legislative Yuan for promulgation within thirty days after its receipt.

Article 72.—Members of the Legislative Yuan shall not be held responsible outside of the said Yuan for opinions they may express and votes they may cast during the session.

Article 73.—Without the permission of the Legislative Yuan, no member may be arrested or detained except when apprehended in *flagrante delicto*.

Article 74.—No Member of the Legislative Yuan may concurrently hold any other public office or engage in any business or profession.

Article 75.—The election of Members of the Legislative Yuan and the organization of the Legislative Yuan shall be determined by law.

## CHAPTER 4.—THE JUDICIAL YUAN

Article 76.—The Judicial Yuan is the highest organ through which the Central Government exercises its judicial powers. It shall attend to the adjudication of civil, criminal and administrative suits, and judicial administration.

Article 77.—In the Judicial Yuan there shall be a President and a Vice-President, each of whom shall hold office for a term of three years. He shall be appointed by the President.

The President of the Judicial Yuan shall be responsible to the People's Congress.

Article 78.—Matters concerning special pardons, remission of sentence and restitution of civil rights shall be submitted to the President for action by the President of the Judicial Yuan in accordance with law.

Article 79.—The Judicial Yuan shall have the power to unify the interpretation of statutes and ordinances.

Article 80.—Judicial officials shall, in accordance with law, have perfect independence in the conduct of trials.

Article 81.—No judicial official may be removed from office unless he has been subject to criminal or disciplinary punishment or declared an interdicted person; nor may a judicial official be suspended or transferred, or have his salary reduced except in accordance with law.



Article 82.—The organization of the Judicial Yuan and the various Courts of Justice shall be determined by law.

#### CHAPTER 5.—THE EXAMINATION YUAN

Article 83.—The Examination Yuan is the highest organ through which the Central Government exercises its examination powers. It shall attend to the selection of civil service candidates by examination and to the registration of persons qualified for public service.

Article 84.—In the Examination Yuan there shall be a President and a Vice-President each of whom shall hold office for a term of three years, to be appointed by the President.

The President of the Examination Yuan shall be responsible to the People's Congress.

Article 85.—The Examination Yuan shall, in accordance with law, by examination and registration determine the following qualifications:—

- (1) For appointment as a public functionary.
- (2) For candidacy to public office.
- (3) For practice in specialized professions and as technical experts.

Article 86.—The organization of the Examination Yuan shall be determined by law.

#### CHAPTER 6.—THE CONTROL YUAN

Article 87.—The Control Yuan is the highest organ through which the Central Government exercises its censorial powers. It shall attend to impeachment and auditing and be responsible to the People's Congress.

Article 88.—In the discharge of its censorial powers, the Control Yuan may, in accordance with law, interrogate the various Yuan, Ministries and Commissions.

Article 89.—In the Control Yuan, there shall be a President and a Vice-President each of whom shall hold office for a term of three years and may be eligible for re-election.

Article 90.—Members of the Control Yuan shall be elected by the People's Congress from candidates, separately nominated by the delegates of the various provinces, Mongolia, Tibet and Chinese citizens residing abroad. Each group of delegates shall nominate not more than two candidates. The candidates need not necessarily be delegates to the Congress.

Article 91.—Members of the Control Yuan shall hold office for a term of three years and may be eligible for re-election.

Article 92.—When the Control Yuan finds a public functionary in the Central or local government guilty of violation of a law or neglect of his duty, an impeachment may be instituted upon the proposal of one or more Members and the endorsement, after due investigation, of five or more Members. Impeachment against the President or Vice-President, the President

or Vice-President of the Executive Yuan, Legislative Yuan, Examination Yuan or Control Yuan may be instituted only upon the proposal of ten or more Members and the endorsement, after due investigation, of one-half or more of the Members of the entire Yuan.

Article 93.—When an impeachment is instituted against the President or Vice-President or the President or Vice-President of the Executive Yuan, Legislative Yuan, Judicial Yuan, Examination Yuan or Control Yuan in accordance with Article 92, it shall be brought before the People's Congress. During the adjournment of the People's Congress, the delegates shall be requested to convene in accordance with law an extraordinary session to decide whether the impeached shall be removed from office.

Article 94.—Members of the Control Yuan shall not be held responsible outside of the said Yuan for opinions they may express and votes they may cast while discharging their duties.

Article 95.—Without the permission of the Control Yuan, no Member of the Control Yuan may be arrested or detained except when apprehended in *flagrante delicto*.

Article 96.—No Member of the Control Yuan may concurrently hold any other public office or engage in any business or profession.

Article 97.—The election of the Members of the Control Yuan and the organization of the Control Yuan shall be determined by law.

#### PART V.—SYSTEM OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT

##### CHAPTER I.—THE PROVINCES

Article 98.—In the province, there shall be a Provincial Government which shall execute the laws and orders of the Central Government and supervise local self-government.

Article 99.—In the Provincial Government there shall be a Governor who shall hold office for a term of three years. He shall be appointed and removed by the Central Government.

Article 100.—In the province, there shall be a Provincial Council which shall be composed of one member from each district or municipality to be elected by the district or municipal council. Members of the Provincial Council shall hold office for a term of three years and may be eligible for re-election.

Article 101.—The organization of the Provincial Government and the Provincial Council as well as the election and recall of the Members of the Provincial Assembly shall be determined by law.

Article 102.—The government of areas not yet established as provinces shall be determined by law.

##### CHAPTER II.—Hsien

Article 103.—The *hsien* is the unit of local self-government.

Article 104.—Any matter of a local nature shall be under the jurisdiction of a local self-government.

All matters pertaining to local self-government shall be determined by law.

Article 105.—Citizens of the *hsien* shall, in accordance with law, exercise the powers of initiative and referendum in matters concerning district self-government, as well as the powers of election and recall of the *Hsien* Magistrate and other elective officials in the service of district self-government.

Article 106.—In the *hsien*, there shall be a *Hsien* Council the members of which shall be directly elected by the citizens in the *Hsien* General Meeting. Members of the *Hsien* Council shall hold office for a term of three years and may be eligible for re-election.

Article 107.—*Hsien* laws and regulations which are in conflict with the laws and ordinances of the Central or Provincial Government shall be null and void.

Article 108.—In the *hsien*, there shall be a *Hsien* Government with a *Hsien* Magistrate who shall be elected by the citizens at the *Hsien* General Meeting. The Magistrate shall hold office for a term of three years and may be eligible for re-election.

Only those persons found qualified in the public examinations held by the Central Government or adjudged qualified by the Ministry of Personnel Registration may be candidates for the office of *Hsien* Magistrate.

Article 109.—The *Hsien* Magistrate shall administer the affairs of the *hsien* in accordance with the principles of self-government and under the direction of the Provincial Governor, execute matters assigned by the Central and Provincial Governments.

Article 110.—The organization, powers and functions of the *Hsien* Council and *Hsien* Government as well as the election and recall of the *Hsien* Magistrate and the Members of the *Hsien* Council shall be determined by law.

#### CHAPTER III.—THE MUNICIPALITIES

Article 111.—In addition to the provisions of this chapter, the provisions governing self-government and administration of the *hsien* shall apply *mutatis mutandis* to the municipality.

Article 112.—In the municipality, there shall be a Municipal Council the members of which shall be directly elected by the citizens in the Municipal General Meeting. One-third of the members shall retire and be replaced by election annually.

Article 113.—In the municipality, there shall be a Municipal Government with a Mayor to be directly elected by the citizens in the Municipal General Meeting. He shall hold office for a term of three years and may be eligible for re-election.

Only those persons found qualified in the public examinations held by the Central Government or adjudged qualified by the Ministry of Personnel Registration may be candidates for the office of Mayor.

Article 114.—The Mayor shall administer the affairs of the municipality in accordance with the principles of municipal self-government and, under direction of the competent supervising authority, executive matters assigned by the Central or Provincial Government.

Article 115.—The organization of the Municipal Council and Municipal Government as well as the election and recall of the Members of the Municipal Council and the Mayor shall be determined by law.

#### PART VI. NATIONAL ECONOMIC LIFE

Article 116.—The economic system of the Republic of China shall be based upon the *Min Sheng Chu I* (Principle of Livelihood) and shall aim at national economic sufficiency and equality.

Article 117.—All land within the territorial limits of the Republic of China belongs to the people as a whole. Any part thereof the ownership of which has been lawfully acquired by an individual or individuals shall be protected by, and subject to, the restrictions of law.

The State may, in accordance with law, tax or expropriate private land on the basis of the value declared by the owner or assessed by the Government.

Every landowner is amenable to the duty of utilizing his land to the fullest extent.

Article 118.—All subterranean minerals and natural forces which are economically utilizable for public benefit, belong to the State and shall not be affected by private ownership of the land.

Article 119.—The unearned increment shall be taxed by means of a land-value-increment tax and devoted to public benefit.

Article 120.—In readjusting the distribution of land, the State shall be guided by the principle of aiding and protecting the landowning farmers and the land-utilizing owners.

Article 121.—The State may, in accordance with law, regulate private wealth and enterprises when such wealth and enterprises are considered detrimental to the balanced development of national economic life.

Article 122.—The State shall encourage, guide and protect the citizens' productive enterprises and the nation's foreign trade.

Article 123.—All public utilities and enterprises of a monopolistic nature shall be operated by the State, except in case of necessity when the State may specially permit private operation.

The private enterprises mentioned in the preceding paragraph may, in case of emergency

for national defense, be temporarily managed by the State. The State may also, in accordance with law, take them over for permanent operation upon payment of due compensation.

Article 124.—In order to improve the workers living conditions, increase their productive ability and relieve unemployment, the State shall enforce labor protective policies.

Women and children shall be afforded special protection in accordance with their age and physical condition.

Article 125.—Labor and capital shall, in accordance with the principles of mutual help and cooperation, develop together productive enterprises.

Article 126.—In order to promote agricultural development and the welfare of the farming population, the State shall improve rural economic and living conditions and increase farming efficiency by employment of scientific farming.

The State may regulate the production and distribution of agricultural products in both kind and quantity.

Article 127.—The State shall accord due relief or compensation to those who suffer disability or loss of life in the performance of military or public service.

Article 128.—The State shall give suitable relief to the aged, feeble, or disabled who are incapable of earning a living.

Article 129.—While the following powers appertain to the Legislative Yuan in the case of the Central Government, they may be exercised by the legally designated organ if, in accordance with law, such matters may be effected independently by a province, *hsien* or municipality:—

- (1) To impose or alter the rate of taxes and levies, fines, penalties, or other imposts of a compulsory nature.
- (2) To raise public loans, dispose of public property or conclude contracts which increase the burden of the public treasury.
- (3) To establish or cancel public enterprises, monopolies, franchises or any other profit-making enterprise.
- (4) To grant or cancel monopolies, franchises or any other special privileges.

Unless specially authorized by law, the government of a province, *hsien* or municipality shall not raise foreign loans or directly utilize foreign capital.

Article 130.—Within the territorial limits of the Republic of China all goods shall be permitted to circulate freely. They shall not be seized or detained except in accordance with law.

Customs duty is a Central Government revenue. It shall be collected only once when the goods enter or leave the country.

The various grades of government shall not collect any dues on goods in transit within the country.

The right to impose taxes and levies on goods belongs to the Central Government and shall not be exercised except in accordance with law.

#### PART VII. EDUCATION

Article 131.—The educational aim of the Republic of China shall be to develop a national spirit, to cultivate a national morality, to train the people for self-government and to increase their ability to earn a livelihood, and thereby to build up a sound and healthy body of citizens.

Article 132.—Every citizen of the Republic of China shall have an equal opportunity to receive education.

Article 133.—All public and private educational institutions in the country shall be subject to State supervision and amenable to the duty of carrying out the educational policies formulated by the State.

Article 134.—Children between six and twelve years old are of school age and shall receive elementary education free of tuition.

Article 135.—All persons over school age who have not received an elementary education shall receive supplementary education free of tuition.

Article 136.—In establishing universities and technical schools, the State shall give special consideration to the needs of the respective localities so as to afford the people thereof an equal opportunity to receive higher education, thereby hastening a balanced national cultural development.

Article 137.—Educational appropriations shall constitute no less than 15 per cent of the total amount of the budget of the Central Government and no less than 30 per cent of the total amount of the provincial, *hsien* and municipal budgets, respectively.

Educational endowment funds independently set aside in accordance with law shall be safeguarded.

Educational expenditures in needy provinces shall be subsidized by the national treasury.

Article 138.—The State shall encourage or subsidize the following persons or enterprises:—

- (1) Educational enterprises established by private persons within the State, with a high record of achievement.
- (2) Educational enterprises for Chinese citizens residing abroad.
- (3) Those who have made academic or technical inventions or discoveries.
- (4) Teachers who have made good records of long service.
- (5) Students who achieve high scholastic attainments and show good conduct but are unable to receive further education.

#### PART VIII. ENFORCEMENT AND AMENDMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION

Article 139.—The term "Law" as used in the Constitution means whatever may be passed by the Legislative Yuan and promulgated by the President as law.

Article 140.—Laws in conflict with the Constitution shall be null and void.

The Control Yuan may, within six months after a law has been enforced, request the Judicial Yuan for interpretation to determine whether or not such law is in conflict with the Constitution. Detailed provisions governing such procedure shall be provided by law.

Article 141.—Administrative orders in conflict with the Constitution or laws shall be null and void.

Article 142.—The Constitution shall be interpreted by the Judicial Yuan.

Article 143.—Where the number of provinces in which self-government has been completely effected does not exceed half the total number of provinces, the Members of the Legislative and Control Yuan shall be elected and appointed in accordance with the following provisions:—

- (1) One-half the number of Members of the Legislative Yuan shall be elected by the People's Congress from half the number of candidates, as prescribed in Article 67, and separately nominated by the delegates of the various provinces, Mongolia, Tibet and Chinese citizens residing abroad. The other half of the Members shall be appointed by the President at the instance of the President of the Legislative Yuan.
- (2) One-half the number of Members of the Control Yuan shall be elected by the People's Congress from half the number of candidates, as prescribed in Article 90, and separately nominated by the delegates of the various provinces, Mongolia, Tibet and Chinese citizens residing abroad. The other half of the Members shall be appointed by the President at the instance of the President of the Control Yuan.

Article 144.—Where self-government has not been completely effected in a *hsien*, the *Hsien* Magistrate shall be appointed and removed by the Central Government.

The provision prescribed in the preceding paragraph applies *mutatis mutandis* in respect to municipalities where self-government has not been completely effected.

Article 145.—The procedure governing the establishment of local self-government shall be prescribed by law.

Article 146.—The People's Congress which enacts this Constitution shall exercise the powers and functions of the First People's Congress.

Article 147.—No amendment to the Constitution may be made unless it shall have been proposed by not less than one-fourth of the delegates to the People's Congress and passed by at least two-thirds of the delegates present at a meeting having a quorum of not less than three-fourths of the entire Congress.

A proposed amendment to the Constitution shall be made public by the proposer or proposers one year before the assembling of the People's Congress.

Article 148.—Such matters as are provided in the Constitution which require separate enforcement rules shall be prescribed by law.

#### NATIONAL GENERAL MOBILIZATION

##### THE NATIONAL GENERAL MOBILIZATION ACT

*Promulgated by the National Government on March 29, 1942, and put into effect on May 5, 1942.*

Article I.—For the purpose of concentrating and employing the entire nation's human and material power in time of war to bolster national defense and to attain the war aims, the National Government hereby enacts this National General Mobilization Act.

Article II.—The term "government" used in this Act refers to the National Government and all administrative organs under it.

Article III.—The term "National General Mobilization materials" used in this Act refers to the following items: (1) military weapons, ammunition and other war equipment and supplies; (2) food, fodder, clothing material, army blankets and other supplies; (3) drugs, medical equipment and supplies and other public health equipment and supplies; (4) ships, vehicles, horses, and other transportation equipment and supplies; (5) construction materials and building apparatus; (6) electric power and fuel; (7) communication equipment and supplies; (8) all necessary materials and machines for the manufacture, repair, apportionment, replenishment and storage of the above-listed equipment and supplies; (9) and any other such materials as the Government may designate in the future.

Article IV.—The term "National General Mobilization affairs" used in this Act refers to the following items: (1) test and research necessary for the manufacture, repair, apportionment, replenishment, export and import, and storage of all National General Mobilization materials; (2) monopolistic sale of daily necessities; (3) banking and currency; (4) transportation and communication; (5) public health and the rescue-protection of wounded soldiers and refugees; (6) intelligence work; (7) the evacuation and relief of women and children, the aged and weak and others in need of such attention; (8) the construction of defense works; (9) education, training and publicity; (10) compulsory purchasing, and priority in purchasing and



transportation; (11) the maintenance of peace and order in the rear and the protection of transportation-communication organs and air defense; (12) and any such functions as the Government may designate in the future.

Article V.—After this Act goes into force, the Government, whenever necessary, may compulsorily purchase or requisition part of or all National General Mobilization materials.

Article VI.—After this Act goes into force, the Government, whenever necessary, may order the producer, trader or importer of National General Mobilization materials to store a fixed quantity of such materials, and the latter, without approval of the government organs concerned, shall not freely dispose of them within a specified period of time.

Article VII.—After this Act goes into force, the Government, whenever necessary, may direct, manage, restrict or ban the production, sale, use, repair, storage, consumption, removal or transfer of National General Mobilization materials. The above-mentioned direction, management, restriction or banning, whenever necessary, may be applicable to the people's daily necessities other than National General Mobilization materials.

Article VIII.—After this Act goes into force, the Government, whenever necessary, may institute a system of control over the price and quantity involved in transactions of National General Mobilization materials and the people's daily necessities.

Article IX.—After this Act goes into force, the Government, whenever necessary, without hampering the enforcement of the Conscription Act, may use the service of the people and other organized bodies in assisting the Government or public organizations in the handling of National General Mobilization affairs.

Article X.—In conscripting the people for National General Mobilization affairs, the Government should make appropriate distribution in accordance with their age, sex, physique, education, skill, experience and their original occupations.

Article XI.—After this Act goes into force, the Government, whenever necessary, may restrict or readjust the acceptance or resignation of positions, restrict employment and unemployment, salaries and wages.

Article XII.—After this Act goes into force, the Government, whenever necessary, may restrict the number of staff members and workers employed by government organs, public bodies, firms and shops and private households.

Article XIII.—After this Act goes into force, the Government, whenever necessary, may order the people to report to the government organs concerned the duties and abilities of

people in their service or in their employment, and may conduct investigations.

Article XIV.—After this Act goes into force, the Government, whenever necessary, may issue ordinances to prevent or settle labor disputes, and may strictly prohibit lockouts, strikes, go-slow strikes and other acts hampering production.

Article XV.—After this Act goes into force, the Government, whenever necessary, may regulate the distribution of farm land, the apportionment of farm labor power and the relations between the landowners and tenants, and may order the reclamation of wasteland within a specified period of time.

Article XVI.—After this Act goes into force, the Government, whenever necessary, may restrict the area in which currency circulates and remittance is possible, the exercise of creditor's rights and the performance of obligations by the debtor.

Article XVII.—After this Act goes into force, the Government, whenever necessary, may control the employment of assets by banks, trust companies, insurance firms and other firms and shops.

Article XVIII.—After this Act goes into force, the Government, whenever necessary, may restrict the establishment and merger of banks, companies, factories and other organized bodies, firms and shops, the change of their business objectives, the flotation of bonds and the distribution of bonuses, the fulfilment of loan obligations and the employment of assets.

Article XIX.—After this Act goes into force, the Government, whenever necessary, may encourage, restrict or prohibit the export or import of a certain commodity, and may also raise, lower or exempt export duties.

Article XX.—After this Act goes into force, the Government, whenever necessary, may restrict the transportation and storage expenses, the insurance fees, repair fees and rentals, of National General Mobilization materials.

Article XXI.—After this Act goes into force, the Government, whenever necessary, may order people to report and experiment on their inventions, patents, such devices, maps and charts, and models and equipment as are exclusively owned by them, and may also order the original proprietors to furnish trained skilled personnel.

Article XXII.—After this Act goes into force, the Government, whenever necessary, may restrict or stop the establishment of newspapers and news agencies, the recording in newspapers, news services and other printed literature, or may order them to print a specific recording.

Article XXIII.—After this Act goes into force, the Government, whenever necessary, may

restrict the people's freedom of speech, publication, writing, correspondence, assembly and organization.

Article XXIV.—After this Act goes into force, the Government, whenever necessary, may requisition the people's land, houses and other structures, or make alterations thereon.

Article XXV.—After this Act goes into force, the Government, whenever necessary, may order those dealing in National General Mobilization materials or engaged in National General Mobilization affairs to prepare plans of general mobilization in their respective fields, and conduct necessary demonstrations.

Article XXVI.—After this Act goes into force, the Government, whenever necessary, may order those engaged in production or repair of National General Mobilization materials to conduct necessary tests and research, or stop them from changing their enterprises with a view to the production and repair of designated materials.

Article XXVII.—After this Act goes into force, the Government, whenever necessary, may order those dealing in National General Mobilization materials and engaged in National General Mobilization affairs of the same category to form guilds or other professional associations, or order them to join the existing guilds or other professional associations. Government organs concerned should from time to time supervise, readjust and improve the afore-mentioned guilds or other professional associations.

Article XXVIII.—After this Act goes into force, the Government, whenever necessary, may give compensation or relief to people who suffer losses as a result of National General Mobilization; it may also organize a Compensation Committee. When the enforcement of this Act comes to its end, the original owners of property and rights or their successors have the right to claim back their original rights.

Article XXIX.—During the enforcement of this Act, a machinery shall be organized for its administration and propagation. The by-laws of this machinery will be provided in a separate act. All National General Mobilization materials and affairs are to remain with the original government organs concerned for management and enforcement.

Article XXX.—During the enforcement of this Act, the above-mentioned machinery of administration and propagation, with a view to increasing the efficiency of National General Mobilization, may petition for the change or readjustment of the organization, budgets and powers of the government organs in charge of its enforcement.

Article XXXI.—After this Act goes into force, the Government may impose penalties on those who violate or hamper the National General Mobilization laws and orders and affairs. Such penalties will be stipulated by law.

Article XXXII.—The promulgation, enforcement and termination of this Act will be mandated by the National Government.

## FUNDAMENTALS GOVERNING THE ENFORCEMENT OF THE NATIONAL GENERAL MOBILIZATION ACT

(Promulgated by the Executive Yuan on June 22, 1942.)

### I. THE PURPOSE OF THE ENFORCEMENT OF THE NATIONAL GENERAL MOBILIZATION ACT

The purpose of the National General Mobilization Act is to concentrate the nation's entire manpower and material resources as a step toward the successful prosecution of the war. This is to be done through the increase of production and the restriction of consumption and use of the commodities thus increased and saved in a concentrated manner. Therefore, the control of production, apportionment, trade, storage, compulsory purchase, and requisition are imperative measures.

All aspects of the National General Mobilization Act should be put into effect simultaneously, for they are closely inter-related. To fulfil this purpose a wholesale plan for the mobilization of manpower and material resources is necessary for co-ordinating the efforts and labor of the people, the production, trade and consumption of commodities, and finance, currency and banking, transportation and other activities and directing them towards a common goal.

The National General Mobilization Act should be enforced in all parts of the country. As our territory is vast, however, social conditions, the distribution of commodities, requirements for production, economic organization and administrative measures, being subject to restrictions imposed by natural environment, are often not evenly developed. To facilitate matters, such National General Mobilization materials and affairs as are national in character should be enforced simultaneously throughout the country, while materials and affairs of a special character should be separately enforced in different localities in order to correlate efforts and to avoid disturbances.

### II. ORGANIZATIONS FOR THE ENFORCEMENT OF THE NATIONAL GENERAL MOBILIZATION ACT AND DIVISION OF WORK

#### A.—ORGANIZATIONS IN CHARGE OF NATIONAL GENERAL MOBILIZATION AFFAIRS IN THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT AND THEIR RESPECTIVE FUNCTIONS

National General Mobilization affairs should be separately undertaken by the ministries, commissions, administrations and bureaus concerned. Whenever necessary, additional personnel may be employed. If affairs do not fall within the sphere of any existing organ, the Executive Yuan, whenever necessary, may assign them

to certain organs or establish special organs to be in charge. Affairs relating to two or more than two organs are to be divided, after discussion, among those concerned. The President of the Executive Yuan may designate one of the organs concerned to do the co-ordination. The National General Mobilization Council shall be responsible for the integrated management, promotion, correlation, scrutinization and examination of all National General Mobilization affairs. Affairs regulated by the National General Mobilization Act shall be apportioned among the principal organs concerned in accordance with the following regulations. Whenever necessary, the Executive Yuan may order the participation of other organs concerned.

1. The Ministries of Food, War, Finance, and Communications, the Transportation Control Board and the National Health Administration shall be in charge of the enforcement of Article V, providing compulsory purchase or requisition of National General Mobilization materials.

2. The Ministries of Economic Affairs, Food, War, Finance, and Communications, the Transportation Control Board, and the National Health Administration shall be in charge of the enforcement of Article VI, providing that the Government, whenever necessary, may order the producer, trader or importer of National General Mobilization materials to store a fixed quantity of such materials and not to dispose of them freely within a specific period of time unless approved by the government organ directly in charge of these materials.

3. The Ministries of Economic Affairs, Food, War, Finance, and Communications, the Transportation Control Board, and the National Health Administration shall be in charge of the enforcement of the first part of Article VII, providing that the Government, whenever necessary, may direct, regulate, restrict or ban the production, sale, use, repair, storage, consumption, removal or transfer of National General Mobilization materials.

4. With regard to the latter part of Article VII, providing that whenever necessary, the direction, regulation, restriction or banning, shall be given to daily necessities other than National General Mobilization materials, the Ministry of Food shall be in charge of food, the Ministry of Finance in charge of salt, sugar, matches and other monopolized goods, and the Ministry of Economic Affairs in charge of other daily necessities.

5. The Ministries of Economic Affairs, Food, War, Finance, and Communications, the Transportation Control Board, and the National Health Administration shall be in charge of the enforcement of Article VIII, providing that the Government, whenever necessary, may regulate and control the sale of National General Mobilization materials as well as their prices and quantities.

With regard to the regulation and control of the sale of daily necessities as well as their prices and quantities, the Ministry of Food shall be in charge of food, the Ministry of Finance in charge of salt, sugar, matches and other monopolized goods, and the Ministry of Economics Affairs in charge of other daily necessities.

6. The Ministries of Social Affairs, Economic Affairs, War, Agriculture and Forestry, Food, Finance, Education, Communications, the Transportation Control Board, and the National Health Administration shall be in charge of the enforcement of Article IX, providing that the Government, whenever necessary, without hampering the enforcement of the Conscription Act, may ask the people and other organized bodies to assist the Government or public organizations in carrying on National General Mobilization affairs; and shall also be in charge of the enforcement of Article X, providing that in conscripting the people for National General Mobilization affairs, the Government should make appropriate distribution in accordance with age, sex, physique, education, skill, experience and original occupations.

7. The Ministries of Social Affairs, Economic Affairs, Finance, Agriculture and Forestry, War, and Communications, and the Transportation Control Board shall be in charge of the enforcement of Article XI, providing that the Government, whenever necessary, may restrict or readjust the acceptance or resignation of positions, employment and unemployment, salaries and wages.

8. The Ministries of Social Affairs, Economic Affairs, Finance, and Communications shall be in charge of the enforcement of Article XII, providing that the Government, whenever necessary, may restrict the number of staff members and workers employed by government organs, public bodies, firms and shops. The Ministry of Social Affairs shall be in charge of the restriction of the number of workers employed by private households.

9. The Ministry of Social Affairs shall be in charge of the enforcement of Article XIII, providing that the Government, whenever necessary, may order the people to report to government organs concerned the duties and abilities of people in their service or in their employment, and may conduct investigations.

10. With regard to Article XIV, providing that the Government, whenever necessary, may issue ordinances to prevent or settle labor disputes and may strictly prohibit lockouts, strikes, go-slow strikes and other acts hampering production, the Ministry of War shall be in charge of state-managed enterprises belonging to the Ministry of War and other military organs, while the Ministry of Social Affairs, with the assistance of organizations directly concerned,

shall be in charge of state-managed and privately-owned enterprises belonging to other ministries, commissions, administrations and bureaus.

11. The National Land Administration, the Ministries of Agriculture and Forestry, Finance, Food, and Social Affairs shall be in charge of the enforcement of Article XV, providing that the Government, whenever necessary, may regulate the distribution of farm land, the apportionment of farm labor, and the relations between landowners and tenants, and may order the reclamation of wasteland within a specified period of time.

12. The Ministry of Finance and the Joint Board of the Four Government Banks shall be in charge of the enforcement of Article XVI, providing that the Government, whenever necessary, may restrict the area in which currency circulates and remittance is possible, while the Ministry of Finance shall be in charge of the restriction of the exercise of creditor's rights and the performance of obligations by the debtor.

13. The Ministries of Finance and Economic Affairs, and the Joint Board of the Four Government Banks shall be in charge of the enforcement of Article XVII, providing that the Government, whenever necessary, may control the employment of assets by banks, trust companies, insurance firms and other firms and shops.

14. The Ministries of Finance and Economic Affairs, and the Joint Board of the Four Government Banks shall be in charge of the enforcement of Article XVIII, providing that the Government, whenever necessary, may restrict the establishment and merger of banks, companies, factories and other organized bodies, firms and shops, the change of their business objectives, the flotation of bonds and the distribution of bonuses, the fulfillment of loan obligations and the employment of assets.

15. The Ministries of Economic Affairs and Finance shall be in charge of the enforcement of Article XIX, providing that the Government, whenever necessary, may encourage, restrict or prohibit the export or import of a certain commodity, and may also raise, lower or exempt export duties.

16. The Ministries of Communications, War, Economic Affairs, Finance, and Food, and the Transportation Control Board shall be in charge of the enforcement of Article XX, providing that the Government, whenever necessary, may restrict transportation and storage expenses, insurance fees, repair fees and rentals of National General Mobilization materials.

17. The Ministries of Economic Affairs, War, Education, Communications, Agriculture and Forestry, and Social Affairs, the Transportation Control Board, the National Health Administration and the National Conservancy Commission shall be in charge of the enforcement of Article XXI, providing that the Government, whenever necessary, may order people to report and experi-

ment on their inventions, patents, such devices, maps and charts, and models and equipment as exclusively owned by them, and may also order the original proprietors to furnish trained personnel.

18. The Ministry of Interior, the Wartime News Censorship Bureau of the National Military Council and the National Books and Periodicals Examination Committee of the Executive Yuan shall be in charge of the enforcement of Article XXII, providing that the Government, whenever necessary, may restrict or stop the establishment of newspapers and news agencies, the recording in newspapers, news services and other printed literature, or may order them to print a specific recording.

19. The Ministry of Interior, the Wartime News Censorship Bureau of the National Military Council, the National Books and Periodicals Examination Committee of the Executive Yuan, and the Postal and Telegraphic Censorship Bureau of the National Military Council shall be in charge of the enforcement of Article XXIII, providing that the Government, whenever necessary, may restrict the people's freedom of speech, publication, writing and correspondence. The Ministries of Interior and Social Affairs shall be in charge of the restriction of the people's freedom of assembly and organization.

20. The National Land Administration, the Ministries of Interior and War shall be in charge of the enforcement of Article XXIV, providing that the Government, whenever necessary, may commandeer the people's land, houses and other structures, or make alterations thereon.

21. Competent ministries, commissions, administrations and bureaus shall be in charge of the enforcement of Article XXV, providing that the Government, whenever necessary, may order those dealing in National General Mobilization materials and engaged in National General Mobilization affairs to prepare plans for general mobilization in their respective fields, and conduct necessary demonstrations.

22. The Ministries of Economic Affairs, War, and Communications, and the Transportation Control Board shall be in charge of the enforcement of Article XXVI, providing that the Government, whenever necessary, may order those engaged in the production or repair of National General Mobilization materials to conduct necessary tests and research, or stop them from changing their enterprises with a view to the production and repair of designated materials.

23. The Ministries of Social Affairs, Economic Affairs, Finance, Communications, Agriculture and Forestry, and Food, the Transportation Control Board and the National Health Administration shall be in charge of the enforcement of Article XXVII, providing that the Government, whenever necessary, may order those dealing in



National General Mobilization materials and engaged in National General Mobilization affairs of the same category to form guilds or other professional associations, or order them to join the existing guilds or professional associations, and that government organs concerned should from time to time supervise, readjust and improve the afore-mentioned guilds and other professional associations.

24. The Executive Yuan, whenever necessary, shall establish a committee to be in charge of the enforcement of the first part of Article XXVIII, providing that the Government, whenever necessary, may give compensation or relief to people who suffer losses as a result of National General Mobilization and it may also organize a compensation committee. Government organs carrying out compulsory purchase or requisition shall be in charge of the enforcement of the latter part of Article XXVIII, providing that when the enforcement of this Act comes to an end, the original owners of property and rights or their successors have the right to claim back their original rights.

25. The National Health Administration shall be in charge of the enforcement of Section 5 of Article IV, relating to general health affairs. The Ministry of War shall be in charge of the rescue and relief of wounded soldiers. The National Relief Commission shall be in charge of the rescue and relief of refugees.

26. Local governments shall be in charge of the evacuation of women, children, the aged and the weak and others who have to evacuate as provided in Section 7 of Article IV. The Ministry of Social Affairs and the National Relief Commission shall be in charge of their relief.

27. The inspection organs of the National General Mobilization Council shall help the government organs directly in charge in enforcing National General Mobilization laws, in prosecuting those violating National General Mobilization laws and in carrying out inspection concerning National General Mobilization affairs.

28. The Ministry of Finance shall prevent the smuggling of National General Mobilization materials, and provide inspection and protection for special goods in transit.

The division of work as provided by the National General Mobilization Act is generally listed as above. Affairs stipulated in Article IV shall be taken care of by government organs in charge. The implications are so obvious as not to need any specification here. The National General Mobilization Council, whenever necessary, shall on the basis of Article XXX propose to the Executive Yuan to alter or readjust the division of work. The various ministries, commissions, administrations and bureaus in charge may also submit proposals to the Executive Yuan for the alteration or readjustment of affairs. These proposals shall be put into force after being

examined and approved by the National General Mobilization Council.

#### B.—PROVINCIAL AND MUNICIPAL ORGANIZATIONS IN CHARGE OF NATIONAL GENERAL MOBILIZATION AFFAIRS AND THEIR POWER AND RESPONSIBILITY

Provincial, municipal and *hsien* governments shall be the organizations in charge of National General Mobilization affairs and should, in accordance with various mobilization plans formulated by competent organs in the Central Government and laws and orders promulgated by the Central Government, engage in mobilization affairs and supervise the enforcement of the Act by their subordinate organs. Provincial, municipal and *hsien* governments and their subordinate organs shall secure approval of the Executive Yuan before taking on additional personnel needed for the execution of National General Mobilization affairs, but can not establish new offices. Central Government organs functioning in various provinces and municipalities shall accept the direction and supervision of the provincial and municipal governments in National General Mobilization affairs, and shall closely co-ordinate with local organizations. Provincial, municipal and *hsien* mobilization committees shall be in charge of promotion, correlation, scrutinization and examination.

For the enforcement of mobilization plans, laws and orders promulgated by the Central Government, provincial and municipal governments directly under the Executive Yuan, whenever necessary, may enact and promulgate separate ordinances and regulations which shall be studied first by respective provincial and municipal mobilization committees and then, in accordance with legal provisions and usual procedure, submitted to the Executive Yuan, and ministries or commissions concerned, for approval.

*Hsien* and municipal governments shall strictly carry out the stipulations in outlines, plans, laws and orders promulgated by the Central Government and stipulations in separate ordinances and regulations promulgated by the provincial governments, and shall not enact separate municipal or *hsien* ordinances and regulations.

#### III. ESSENTIAL POINTS IN THE NATIONAL GENERAL MOBILIZATION PLAN

1. Concerning human, material and financial power, the various ministries, commissions, administrations, and bureaus in charge shall re-arrange and appraise the results of investigations made and statistics compiled by various organizations in the past and use them as the basis of planning, and at the same time shall conduct necessary investigations.

2. Concerning military needs, military organs, in accordance with combat conditions and the requirements of a growing army, shall formulate

separate supply plans for manufactured war items to be secured through compulsory purchase, and production plans for other military needs; and shall also work out comprehensive estimates of manufactured war products, raw materials, production tools, and the necessary amount of labor.

3. All organizations in need of commodities shall present details stating their minimum requirements and labour estimates.

4. Organizations in charge, without hampering the enforcement of the Conscription Act, shall map out plans for the employment of labor and technical personnel.

5. Organizations in charge of commodities in agreement with various organs concerned shall formulate plans for the production, storage, and supply and demand of commodities with reference to estimates presented by military and other organs. The National General Mobilization Council shall make the final decision in case no agreement is reached because of a shortage of commodities.

6. Concerning financial power, plans shall be formulated to increase revenue, reduce unnecessary outlays, and institute necessary measures for the control of banking activities, and concerning funds to finance the supply and demand of commodities, rational regulations shall be laid down in consideration of effects on price fluctuations.

7. Organs in charge of transportation, in accordance with actual needs, shall seek for greater efficiency in transportation and make plans for effective joint land and water transportation.

8. In accordance with their kinds and production conditions, National General Mobilization materials, in principle, shall first be evenly distributed to meet the needs of various localities near the production centres. For such materials as are required to meet needs in other places, adequate transportation preparations shall be made.

9. Plans shall be mapped out for increasing the national strength through cultural means on the basis of the supreme principle of Spiritual Mobilization, i.e., oneness of purpose and unity of strength.

10. The various organs in charge, within a specified period of time, shall submit their plans to the National General Mobilization Council.

11. The National General Mobilization Council, in accordance with both military and civilian needs and supply of raw materials, shall carefully study the plans and map out a general plan for mobilization of the nation's resources. The general plan shall be submitted, through the Executive Yuan, to the Supreme National Defense Council for adoption.

12. Prior to the completion of the general mobilization plan, the various organs in charge shall propose to the National General Mobilization Council, for approval and adoption, important measures that shall be put into force immediately.

#### IV. ECONOMIC ORGANIZATIONS ENGAGED IN NATIONAL GENERAL MOBILIZATION

1. Public or private companies, factories, firms and shops, shall abide by the *Regulations Governing the Control of Industrial and Commercial Enterprises and Organizations in Time of Emergency*, and register with the government within a specified period of time; they shall organize trade guilds, within a specified period of time and participation in these guilds shall be made compulsory.

2. Small business enterprises which are legally exempt from registration with the Government, but work on government orders or deal in daily necessities either permanently or temporarily, shall register with their respective trade guilds and accept their restrictions in fulfilling their duties as stipulated in the *Regulations Governing the Control of Industrial and Commercial Enterprises and Organizations in Time of Emergency*.

3. Whenever necessary, government organs of various grades may order trade guilds different in kind and in locality to organize joint offices, in order to facilitate the regulating of National General Mobilization. The various trade guilds may also voluntarily petition to have such joint organizations. Regulations to this effect shall be drafted by organs in charge and others concerned.

4. Municipal and *hsien* governments, apart from abiding by the *Fundamentals Governing the Organization of Cooperative Societies in Various Units in the Hsien*, in order to complete the organization of cooperative societies, should lay emphasis upon the organization of consumers' cooperatives, and production and marketing cooperatives. Organs of various grades in charge of cooperatives, within a specified period of time, shall organize *hsien*, provincial and nation-wide associations of cooperative societies.

5. Government organs of various grades may order the aforementioned economic organizations to participate in National General Mobilization affairs, or authorize them to undertake the management of general mobilization and to report to the Government economic activities that violate general mobilization laws and orders.

6. Government organs of various grades, from time to time, shall supervise and examine the aforementioned economic organizations, and may summon their personnel for trading or direct and assist them in training their own members.

7. The objective in enacting the National General Mobilization Act is to increase the nation's strength through increasing the production of all enterprises. The application of Article V relating to the requisition of privately owned factories shall be confined to those factories violating general mobilization laws and orders and to those the operation of which lies beyond private means. Direction and assistance shall be given to those which have already yielded good results.

#### V. PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATIONS CONCERNED WITH NATIONAL GENERAL MOBILIZATION AFFAIRS

1. Administrative offices of various grades in charge of social affairs, within a specified period of time, shall complete the formation of all kinds of trade guilds, free professional organizations and other people's organizations concerned with National General Mobilization affairs and shall compel or persuade every individual to join an organization.

2. In case of people's organizations concerned with National General Mobilization affairs which are authorized by law to form higher joint associations, government organs in charge shall compel the organization of such higher joint bodies and the participation of all lower bodies within a specified period of time.

3. Government organs of various grades in charge of social affairs may, in accordance with the National General Mobilization Act, or upon request from organs in charge of general mobilization, apportion among the people's organizations the various kinds of National General Mobilization affairs, and may authorize them to undertake designated work for general mobilization.

4. Government organs of various grades in charge of social affairs may despatch officials to direct, supervise and examine the people's organizations, and may direct the practice of general mobilization plans, or call members of the organizations for training purpose or direct and assist them to train members of the organizations. The authorities may also appoint secretaries to professional organizations or grant subsidies.

5. The registration, investigation and readjustment of such professional organizations as engineers, doctors, accountants, pharmacists and journalists, having an important bearing on general mobilization affairs, shall be conducted from time to time to prepare for conscription whenever necessary.

#### PROVISIONAL REGULATIONS GOVERNING PENALTIES FOR VIOLATORS OF THE NATIONAL GENERAL MOBILIZATION ACT

(Promulgated on June 29, 1942, and put into force on August 1, 1942)

Article I.—Those violating or obstructing the National General Mobilization Act shall be punished in accordance with these regulations.

Article II.—Heavier penalties provided by laws and orders of economic control enforced prior to the promulgation of these regulations shall remain in force.

Article III.—Violators of these regulations shall be tried by organs endowed with powers of a military tribunal and their sentences shall be carried out upon approval of the highest military organ.

Article IV.—Existing laws and orders governing mobilization materials and affairs which provide organs of trial and procedure shall remain in force; cases particularly serious in nature or having special conditions, if so decided by the National General Mobilization Council, may be tried by organs applying military laws.

Article V.—Persons committing any one of the following offenses shall be sentenced to imprisonment for not more than seven years and also be liable to a fine of not more than \$100,000:

(a) Those violating or obstructing orders issued on the basis of Articles V, XVII, and XVIII of the National General Mobilization Act.

(b) Those violating or obstructing orders of regulation, conservation or prohibition issued on the basis of the first part of Article VII of the National General Mobilization Act.

(c) Those violating or obstructing orders of control issued on the basis of Article VIII of the National General Mobilization Act.

(d) Those violating or obstructing orders of prohibition issued on the basis of Article XIV of the National General Mobilization Act.

(e) Those violating or obstructing orders of restriction and prohibition issued on the basis of Article XIX of the National General Mobilization Act.

Imports and exports involved in the offense of category (e), no matter whether they belong to the offenders or not, shall be confiscated.

Article VI.—Persons committing any one of the following offenses shall be sentenced to imprisonment for not more than three years and also be liable to a fine of not more than \$50,000.

(a) Those violating or obstructing orders issued on the basis of Articles VI, XX, XXIV and the latter part of Article XXVI of the National General Mobilization Act.

(b) Those violating or obstructing orders of regulation, conservation and prohibition issued on the basis of part two of Article VII of the National General Mobilization Act.

(c) Those violating or obstructing orders issued in accordance with the first part of Article XXVII of the National General Mobilization Act.

Article VII.—Serious offenders of the two previous articles, involving obstruction of military

operations, destruction of peace and order, causing disturbance of currency stability, shall be sentenced to either death or life imprisonment, and their property may be confiscated.

Article VIII.—Persons committing any one of the following offenses shall be sentenced to imprisonment of not more than a year, forced labor or a fine of not more than \$30,000:

(a) Those resisting inspection stipulated by Article XIII of the National General Mobilization Act.

(b) Those violating orders issued on the basis of the first part of Article XXI of the National General Mobilization Act and refusing the uses (of their inventions, patents, and processes) to the government.

(c) Those violating or obstructing orders issued on the basis of Articles IX, XI, XII and XXIII of the National General Mobilization Act.

Article IX.—Persons committing any one of the following offenses shall be sentenced to imprisonment for not more than six months' hard labor or a fine of not more than \$10,000:

(a) Those violating the provision in Article XIII of the National General Mobilization Act by delaying their reports or making false reports.

(b) Those violating orders issued on the basis of Article XVI of the National General Mobilization Act.

(c) Those violating the provision in the first part of Article XXI of the National General Mobilization Act by refusing to report or to experiment, or violating the provision in the latter part of the same article in failing to provide experienced technical personnel and workmen.

(d) Those violating or obstructing orders issued on the basis of Article XXV or the first part of Article XXVI of the National General Mobilization Act.

Article X.—For those violating orders issued on the basis of Article XXII of the National General Mobilization Act, the penalties shall be meted out in accordance with the Laws of Publication; whenever necessary, the penalties may be increased by fifty per cent.

Article XI.—Those revealing or stealing for their own use secrets of National General Mobilization affairs shall be sentenced to imprisonment for not more than three years. Such offenders, if they are public functionaries engaged in National General Mobilization affairs, shall be sentenced to imprisonment for not less than six months and not more than five years.

Article XII.—Violators of these regulations, if they have been entrusted by the Government to engage in National General Mobilization affairs, shall be punished in the same way as public functionaries.

Article XIII.—Public functionaries who abuse their authority and issue orders in the name of the National General Mobilization for personal motives, thereby causing losses to others, shall be sentenced to imprisonment from three to ten years. Serious offenders shall be sentenced to either death or life imprisonment.

Article XIV.—The penalties for public functionaries who shield offenders of these regulations shall be increased by fifty per cent.

Article XV.—The promulgation, enforcement and termination of these regulations shall be mandated by the National Government.



## CHAPTER IV

## FOREIGN RELATIONS

CHINESE DOCUMENTS CONCERNING JAPANESE INVASION AND  
THE CREATION OF PUPPET REGIMES

## STATEMENT ON INVASION

The National Government issued the following statement on the responsibility for the war on August 15, 1937:

During recent years the Chinese Government and people have devoted their united efforts to the building of a modern China capable of realizing her ardent aspirations for achieving a status of independence and equality in the family of nations.

Internally, China's efforts have been directed toward economic and cultural rehabilitation, while externally she has upheld the principles of peace and justice. Believing in the harmony of her aspirations for national independence and co-existence with other nations, she has scrupulously observed all international treaties to which she is a signatory, such as the Covenant of the League of Nations, the Nine-Power Treaty and the Paris Peace Pact.

Unfortunately, since September 18, 1931, Japan has seized from China the four North-eastern provinces and plunged the important port of Shanghai into a devastating conflict. Launching further attacks from Jehol, she indulged in indiscriminate killing and extensive incendiarism along the Great Wall. She has set up and is in full control of the puppet regime in East Hopei. She has caused bandits and irregulars to disturb peace and order in north Chahar.

In addition to such grave assaults upon China's territorial integrity, she has further violated our aerial sovereignty by causing her military and other airplanes to make innumerable flights over different parts of China. She has acquiesced and lent support in the organization of smuggling by her nationals on an unprecedented scale, causing enormous loss to China's national revenue as well as to the legitimate trade of other countries. Nor did she hesitate to stoop to such unscrupulous practices as the encouragement of the illicit drug traffic and the supply of arms to bandits and robbers. She has magnified and made use of all kinds of incidents, real or imaginary, by presenting preposterous demands upon China and also using them as pretexts for taking unilateral action.

Although none of these aggressions could be tolerated by any nation in the world without endangering its independence and existence,

China has time and again endured the intolerable, hoping all the while that Japan might realize her mistakes. But even this last ray of hope has been shattered by the incident which Japan created at Lukouchiao.

The outbreak of the Lukouchiao incident must be fundamentally attributed to the excessive increase of the Japanese garrison at Tientsin and the frequent maneuvers unlawfully held at places not permitted under the Treaty of 1901. Such actions were sufficient to cause the outbreak of incidents almost at any moment in the area involved.

Late in the night of July 7, the Japanese troops chose again to hold such unlawful maneuvers at Lukouchiao and followed them up with a sudden attack upon the city of Wanping. The Chinese garrison there was constrained to take defensive measures, and the subsequent hostilities resulted in the destruction of thousands of Chinese lives and an immense amount of property by Japanese gunfire. All these facts are now well known to the world.

The actions on the part of the Japanese after the outbreak of the Lukouchiao incident are further worthy of note. While repeatedly giving assurances that the Japanese Government did not desire to aggravate the situation, large numbers of additional troops with several squadrons of airplanes, tanks and other ultra-modern implements of war, poured into Hopei province from Manchuria, Korea and Japan Proper. Such acts of systematic armed aggression cannot be obscured by mere verbal professions.

Anxious to seek a peaceful settlement, the Chinese authorities in a most conciliatory spirit entered into discussions with the Japanese with a view to averting the imminent danger of a catastrophe. On July 12, the Chinese Minister of Foreign Affairs suggested to the Counsellor of the Japanese Embassy the immediate cessation of military movements on both sides, but received no response from the Japanese Government.

On July 19, the Chinese Government formally renewed its proposal in writing for the simultaneous cessation of troop movements and mutual withdrawal of troops to their respective original positions on a date to be agreed upon by both sides. It was also unequivocally stated that for the settlement of the unfortunate affair, the Chinese Government was prepared to accept

any pacific means recognized by international law and treaties, such as direct negotiations, good offices, mediation, or arbitration. Unfortunately, all these demarches failed to elicit any response from Japan.

Meanwhile the Chinese local authorities, actuated by the desire to maintain peace, had accepted certain terms of a settlement proposed by the Japanese to which the Chinese Government, with the greatest forbearance, did not raise objection. But no sooner had such a settlement been effected than the Japanese troops, without any pretext, directed further attacks on the Chinese positions at Lukouchiao, Langfang and other places.

An ultimatum was delivered on July 26, demanding among other things the withdrawal of Chinese troops from Peiping, which was entirely outside the terms of the settlement already reached. Such demands being absolutely impossible of acceptance, the Japanese troops, without even waiting for a reply, before the expiration of the time limit set in the ultimatum, started a fierce offensive against Peiping and Tientsin, centers of Chinese culture and international trade, respectively, in North China. Chinese troops stationed in the environs of Nanyuan suffered tremendous casualties as the result of sudden attacks by Japanese bombing airplanes and tanks.

In the course of a bloody assault on Tientsin an immense number of Chinese civilians were mercilessly killed or injured, while public buildings, shops, dwelling-houses, and educational and cultural institutions were deliberately destroyed by artillery and aerial bombardment. After having committed these atrocities, the Japanese forces are now advancing toward southern Hopei and carrying the war scourge into Chahar with fierce attacks on Nankow. Thus the Japanese have been consistently provoking hostilities and extending their war operations, while at the same time making magnificent professions of their desire to effect a local settlement and to avoid further aggravation of the situation.

While hostilities were raging in North China, the Chinese Government, solicitous of the immense commercial and other interests, both foreign and Chinese, concentrated in the important metropolis of Shanghai, repeatedly ordered the municipal authorities of Greater Shanghai and the Peace Preservation Corps there to take special precautions against the occurrence of any untoward incident. On the evening of August 9, however, a Japanese officer, accompanied by a seaman, attempted to force an entry into the Chinese military airdrome at Hungjao, regardless of Chinese warnings, and thus precipitated an incident resulting in the death of the two Japanese and a Chinese sentry belonging to the Peace Preservation Corps.

The Chinese municipal authorities proposed that an equitable settlement be sought through diplomatic channels, but the Japanese Government has dispatched to Shanghai a large number of warships and additional armed forces and, at the same time, presented various demands calculated to undermine or reduce Chinese strength for self-defense.

Japanese airplanes have flown over Shanghai, Hangchow, Ningpo and other cities near the Kiangsu and Chekiang coasts, undoubtedly with a view to commencing military operations. On the 13th instant, Japanese armed forces launched vigorous attacks on the Chinese Civic Center at Shanghai.

Such action, together with the dispatch of immense numbers of Japanese troops into Hopei after the outbreak of the Lukouchiao incident, clearly shows that Japan is bent on executing her traditional policy of continental expansion and conquest.

Using the Shanghai Armistice Agreement of May 5, 1932, as a pretext, Japan has sought to prevent China from taking legitimate measures of self-defense during the present acute emergency. It must be borne in mind that the aim and spirit of the agreement were to insure that, within a specified area, both parties would exercise self-restraint and moderation in order to avoid any armed clash prejudicial to the progress of peaceful negotiations. If one party, after having violated its undertakings by advancing troops at its own will, attempted to impose on the other party restrictions of such a nature as to render it completely powerless against aggression, such an attempt was indeed based on a perversion of the agreement which could not be justified either legally or morally.

The Chinese Government now solemnly declares that China's territorial integrity and sovereign rights have been wantonly violated by Japan in glaring violation of such peace instruments as the Covenant of the League of Nations, the Nine-Power Treaty and Paris Peace Pact. China is in duty bound to defend her territory and her national existence as well as the sanctity of the above mentioned treaties. We will never surrender any part of our territory. When confronted with aggression we cannot but exercise our natural right of self-defense. If Japan did not entertain territorial designs on China she should use her efforts to seek a rational solution of Sino-Japanese problems and at the same time cease all her armed aggression and military movements in China. In the event of such a happy change of heart, China would, in conformity with her traditional policy of peace, continue her efforts to avert a situation pregnant with dangerous possibilities both for East Asia and for the world at large.

In this our supreme fight not only for a national but for a world cause, not only for the preservation of our own territory and sovereignty but

for the maintenance of international justice, we are confident that all friendly nations, in addition to showing sympathy with us, will be conscious of their obligations under the international treaties to which they have solemnly subscribed.

#### NOTE ON PUPPET REGIMES

Following is an English translation of an identical note signed by Dr. Wang Chung-hui, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and presented to the foreign embassies and legations in China on March 30, 1940, and simultaneously delivered to the foreign governments through Chinese envoys accredited to them:

Since her invasion of China, Japan has used all sorts of means in attempting to accomplish her object of conquest and domination in Asia and in the Pacific. Massacre, rape, pillage, indiscriminate aerial bombings, and other barbarous acts have caused untold damage and suffering to the civilian population and, contrary to Japan's expectations, only strengthened China's will of resistance in defense of justice and humanity.

After nearly three years of China's resistance, the Japanese militarists, finding themselves in despair, have caused to be established at Nanking an organization purporting to be the "National Government of the Republic of China." It is nothing more than a puppet organization created and controlled by Japanese militarists as an instrument for usurping China's sovereign rights and destroying her independence and territorial and administrative integrity. It will also be used by the Japanese to overthrow international law and order, to nullify the Nine-Power Treaty, and to eliminate all commerce and interests of third Powers in China.

Needless to say, those men who compose the puppet organization are but a gang of slaves of the Japanese—persons of utter moral depravity, having lost all sense of decency and patriotism. They endanger the safety of their own country by aiding and abetting Japanese aggression and have therefore been condemned by the Chinese Government and people as traitors of the worst type deserving the severest penalty of the law.

The Chinese Government desires to take this opportunity to repeat most emphatically the declaration already made on several occasions that any act done by such an unlawful organization as has just been set up at Nanking or any other puppet body that may exist elsewhere in China, is *ipso facto* null and void and shall never be recognized by the Chinese Government and people. The Chinese Government is convinced

#### CHINA'S APPEAL TO THE LEAGUE AND SIGNATORIES OF THE NINE-POWER TREATY

On August 30, 1937, the Chinese Government sent a statement to the League of Nations secretary-general on the events which had taken place since July 7, with the request that it be

that all self-respecting States will uphold law and justice in the conduct of international relations and will never accord *de jure* or *de facto* recognition to Japan's puppet organization in China. Any manifestation of such recognition, in whatever form or manner, would be a violation of international law and treaties and would be considered as an act most unfriendly to the Chinese nation, for the consequences of which the recognizing party would have to bear full responsibility.

Whatever Japan may attempt to do in China, the Chinese Government and people are as determined as ever to continue their resistance until Japanese troops have been completely driven out of Chinese territory and until right triumphs over might.

#### DECLARATION OF DECEMBER 1, 1940

On December 1, 1940 the National Government of China issued the following declaration:

The conclusion by Japan with the puppet organization at Nanking of what purports to be a treaty is but an aggressive act on her part designed to overthrow law and order not only in China, but in the whole Pacific. Having set up a regime to suit their own purposes, the Japanese have now signed with it the so-called treaty to facilitate the execution of their policy of domination and expansion in the Far East. Such a regime is in reality a part of the Government at Tokyo planted on Chinese soil, to be used by the Japanese militarists as an instrument for the realization of their scheme.

The National Government of the Republic of China has repeatedly declared, and desires to reiterate most emphatically, that Wang Ching-wei is the arch-traitor of the Republic and that the puppet regime at Nanking is an illegal organization whose acts of whatever character are null and void in respect of all Chinese citizens and all foreign countries. The so-called treaty just signed at Nanking is totally devoid of legality and has no binding force whatever.

Should any foreign country choose to accord recognition to the puppet organization, the Government and people of China would consider it a most unfriendly act and would be constrained to discontinue their normal relations with such a country.

Whatever Japan may attempt or conspire to do in China or in the Pacific, China is determined to fight on till victory is won, and she is confident of victory because to freedom and right and justice victory inevitably belongs.

forwarded to states members and non-members of the League represented on the Far Eastern Advisory Committee set up by the League Assembly in February, 1933. In this statement

China charged Japan with having violated the fundamental principles of the League Covenant, the Paris Pact of 1928 and the Nine-Power Treaty of 1922. On September 12, the Chinese Government addressed two supplementary statements to the secretary-general. In the first statement the political and military aspects of the issue were discussed. In the second the Chinese Government invoked the application of Articles X, XI and XVII of the Covenant and appealed to the League Council to take appropriate action.

In the League Assembly on September 15, Dr. V. K. Wellington Koo, China's chief delegate, urged that Japan's aggression in flagrant violation of international law should be clearly denounced. He called on the League to take immediate action. On September 16, the League Council requested the secretary-general to arrange for a meeting of the Advisory Committee, which was composed of representatives of Belgium, Bolivia, the United Kingdom, Canada, Colombia, Czechoslovakia, Ecuador, France, Hungary, Iran, Italy, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, Sweden, Switzerland, the U. S. S. R., and the United States of America.

The Advisory Committee met on September 22, and invited China and Japan, as parties to the dispute, and also Germany and Australia, as interested states, to participate in the work. The invitation was accepted by China and Australia but declined by Germany and Japan.

On September 27, the Council voted a resolution concerning the indiscriminate Japanese air bombing of China, declaring that "no excuse can be made for such acts." This resolution was accepted by the League Assembly on September 28.

The Advisory Committee appointed a sub-committee consisting of representatives of Australia, Belgium, the United Kingdom, China, Ecuador, France, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Poland, Sweden, and the U.S.S.R., to examine the situation arising out of the Sino-Japanese conflict, to discuss questions involved and to submit to the Committee such proposals as it might think fit. On October 5, the sub-committee made two reports to the Advisory Committee. In the first report it gave a general outline of events in China since July 7, examined the treaty obligations of the parties to the dispute, and maintained that the military operations carried on by Japan against China were out of all proportion to the incident that occasioned the conflict and could be justified neither on the basis of existing legal instruments nor by the right of self-defense, and that it was in contravention of Japan's treaty obligations under the Nine-Power Treaty of 1922 and under the Pact of Paris. In the second report it suggested that since Japan was not a member of the League and had, in relation to the work of the Advisory

Committee, expressly declined to cooperate with the League in political matters, League members who were parties to the Nine-Power Treaty should initiate such consultation as provided for by Article VII of the treaty at the earliest convenience. The two reports were approved by the Advisory Committee which decided to forward them to the League Assembly, the members of the League and the Government of the United States of America. The Assembly considered these reports and adopted the following resolution on October 6:

"The Assembly adopts as its own the reports submitted to it by its Advisory Committee on the subject of the conflict between China and Japan; approves the proposals contained in the second of the said reports and requests its president to take the necessary action with regard to the proposed meeting of the members of the League which are parties to the Nine-Power Treaty signed at Washington on February 6, 1922; expresses its moral support for China and recommends that members of the League should refrain from taking any action which might have the effect of weakening China's resistance and thus of increasing her difficulties in the present conflict and should also consider how far they can individually extend aid to China; decides to adjourn its present session and to authorize the president to summon a meeting if the Advisory Committee so requests."

The delegations of Poland and Siam abstained from voting. The secretary of state of the United States of America, in a public declaration which was communicated to the League of Nations, stated that the American Government had been forced to the conclusion that Japan's action in China was inconsistent with the principles which should govern the conduct of international relations and was contrary to the provisions of the Nine-Power Treaty, as well as those of the Pact of Paris.

#### THE BRUSSELS CONFERENCE

In accordance with the resolution of the Assembly, the president of the Assembly sent letters to the governments of the members of the League who were parties to the Nine-Power Treaty, inviting them to initiate the consultation provided for under Article VII of the treaty. This appeal resulted in the meeting on November 3, of the Conference at Brussels. With the exception of Japan, all of the signatories of and adherents to the Nine-Power Treaty accepted the invitation. The Chinese Government, in accepting the invitation, stated that its present military operations were purely in resistance to armed invasion by Japan, and that it was willing to accept a peace based on the principles of the Nine-Power Treaty and to collaborate wholeheartedly with the other Powers in support of the principle of the sanctity of treaties.



On November 7, 1937, the Conference sent, through the Belgian Government, a communication to the Japanese Government inquiring whether it would be willing to send a representative or representatives to exchange views with representatives of a small number of Powers to be chosen for that purpose, the exchange of views to take place within the framework of the Nine-Power Treaty. On November 12, the Japanese Government replied, insisting that its present action did not come within the scope of the Nine-Power Treaty and that there was no justification for discussing the applicability of that treaty.

On November 15, the Conference in the name of the representatives of the Union of South Africa, the United States of America, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Canada, China, France, the United Kingdom, India, Mexico, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Portugal, and the U.S.S.R., adopted a declaration. First, the Conference regretted the Japanese Government's refusal to enter into an exchange of views. Second, the Conference considered the Sino-Japanese conflict of concern to all countries party to the Nine-Power Treaty and the Pact of Paris. Third, the Conference maintained that, contrary to the Japanese view, if the matter were left entirely to Japan and China the armed conflict would continue indefinitely, and found it difficult to understand Japan's refusal to an exchange of views which might lead to the negotiation of a satisfactory settlement.

The representatives of Sweden, Norway, and Denmark abstained from voting on the text of this declaration on the ground that their respective governments did not possess the same political interests in the Far East as certain other Powers. The representative of Italy stated that the declaration would lead to serious complications and therefore Italy expressed her definitely contrary vote.

On November 24, the Conference adopted a resolution which said in part: "The Conference is convinced that force itself can provide no just and lasting solution for disputes between nations. It continues to believe that it would be to the immediate and ultimate interest of both parties to the present dispute to avail themselves of the assistance of others in an effort to bring hostilities to an early end as a necessary preliminary to the achievement of a general and lasting settlement. It further believes that a satisfactory settlement cannot be achieved by direct negotiation between the parties to the conflict alone, and that only by consultation with other Powers principally concerned can there be achieved an agreement the terms of which will be just, generally acceptable and likely to endure. This Conference strongly affirms the principles of the Nine-Power Treaty as being among the basic principles which are

essential to world peace and orderly progressive development of national and international life."

At the same meeting Dr. Koo, the chief Chinese delegate, stated that a mere reaffirmation of certain general principles as was being done could not be considered as a satisfactory result of the Conference, because it was not adequate to deal effectively with the grave situation.

#### SIX LEAGUE COUNCIL SESSIONS

On February 2, 1938, the League Council in a resolution called the serious attention of member states to the Assembly's resolution of October 6, 1937 wherein member states were called upon to refrain from taking any action which might have the effect of weakening China's power of resistance and thus of increasing her difficulties in the present conflict, and also to consider how far they could individually extend aid to China. The Council also expressed the confidence that those states represented on the Council would lose no opportunity of examining, in consultation with other similarly interested Powers, the feasibility of any further steps which might contribute to a just settlement of the conflict in the Far East.

The representatives of Poland and Peru abstained from voting on the resolution.

Dr. Koo said that though the text submitted to the Council was inadequate, his Government was confident that greater effect would be given henceforth to the resolution of the Assembly of October 6, 1937, and that the examination provided for in the last paragraph would be carried out promptly and energetically. He reserved the right of his Government to ask the League to adopt positive measures under the Covenant for the more effective discouragement of Japanese aggression, and reminded the Council that it remained seized of the appeal of his Government under Articles X, XI and XVII of the Covenant.

At the second meeting of the 101st session of the Council held on May 10, 1938, Dr. Koo asked the Council to take more effective action to deal with the matter because of the failure on the part of the League members to carry out the resolution of February 2. He also warned the Council that the Japanese were on the point of using poison gas on a large scale in disregard of international law and convention. He also stated that China expected to receive from the other members of the League material aid and effective cooperation in restraining the forces of aggression, as such aid and cooperation would hasten the termination of the hostilities and insure the defeat of the forces of disorder and violence. The Council decided to set up a Drafting Committee composed of representatives of China, the United Kingdom, France, Rumania, and the U.S.S.R. The

Drafting Committee submitted to the eighth meeting held on May 14, the following resolution:

"The Council, having heard the statement by the representative of China on the situation in the Far East and on the needs of the national defense of China, earnestly urges members of the League to do their utmost to give effect to the recommendations contained in previous resolutions of the Assembly and Council in this matter, and take into serious and sympathetic consideration requests they may receive from the Chinese Government in conformity with the said resolutions; expresses its sympathy with China in her heroic struggle for the maintenance of her independence and territorial integrity, threatened by the Japanese invasion, and in the suffering which is thereby inflicted on her people; recalls that the use of toxic gases is a method of war condemned by international law, which cannot fail, should resort be had to it, to meet with the reprobation of the civilized world; and requests the governments of states who may be in a position to do so to communicate to the League any information that may obtain on the subject."

In accepting the resolution in the name of the Chinese Government, Dr. Koo said that the resolution left much to be desired, but he hoped that the needs of China in her valiant struggle not only to defend her independence and territorial integrity but also to uphold the cause of law and order in the world, would be seriously and sympathetically considered and generously satisfied by all members of the League who may be approached for the purpose, more particularly in assuring her of financial and material aid and of the facilities for purchase, transport, and transit of arms and military supplies, facilities which should in no case be less than those which she enjoyed before the commencement of the hostilities.

The representatives of France, Great Britain and the U.S.S.R., all spoke warmly in support of the resolution which was subsequently adopted, the representative of Poland abstaining as regards Part I of the resolution.

At the 103rd session of the League Council in mid-September, 1938, Dr. Koo sent to the secretary-general a communication wherein, in the name of the Chinese Government, he requested the Council to give immediate effect to Article XVII of the Covenant, which the Council had hitherto failed to apply, but which, in the opinion of the Chinese Government, provides the most relevant procedure for effective action by the League in the case. On September 19, the president of the Council proposed, and the Council approved of, the sending of a telegram to the Japanese Government, extending an invitation provided for by the first sentence of the said Article, to place her dispute with China before the League.

The Japanese Government declined the invitation on September 22, saying that "means such as those laid down in the Covenant cannot provide a just and adequate solution of the present conflict between Japan and China."

At the second meeting held on September 30, 1938, the League Council adopted a resolution, inviting the governments of states represented on the Council and on the Far Eastern Advisory Committee having official representatives in China to investigate through diplomatic channels cases of Japanese poison gas attacks and to submit all relevant reports for examination and consideration. Dr. Koo accepted the resolution on behalf of the Chinese Government without prejudice to China's right to ask the Council to take other action if the proposed method proved ineffective for the purpose.

At the same meeting the Council adopted report which reads as follows:—

- (1) The report of the Far Eastern Advisory Committee, adopted by the Assembly on October 6, 1937, states "that the military operations carried on by Japan against China by land, sea, and air . . . can be justified neither on the basis of existing legal instruments nor on that of the right of self-defense, and that (they are) in contravention of Japan's obligations under the Nine-Power Treaty of February 6, 1922, and under the Pact of Paris of August 27, 1928."
- (2) The Japanese Government, having been invited, under Article XVII, paragraph 1 of the Covenant, to comply with the obligations devolving upon the members of the League for the settlement of their disputes, has declined this invitation.
- (3) Although, in conformity with established practice, it is, in principle, for the members of the League to appreciate in each particular case whether the conditions required for the application of Article XVI and Article XVII, paragraph 3, are fulfilled, in the special case now before the Council, the military operations in which Japan is engaged in China have already been found by the Assembly to be illicit, as mentioned above, and the Assembly's finding retains its full force.
- (4) In view of Japan's refusal of the invitation extended to her, the provisions of Article XVI are, under Article XVII, paragraph 3, applicable in present conditions and the members of the League are entitled not only to act as before on the basis of the said findings, but also to adopt individually the measures provided for in Article XVI.

- (5) As regards coordinated action in carrying out such measures, it is evident, from the experience of the past, that all elements of cooperation which are necessary, are not yet assured.
- (6) The Assembly, by its resolution of October 6, 1937, assured China of its moral support, and recommended that members of the League "should refrain from taking any action which might have the effect of weakening China's power of resistance and thus of increasing her difficulties in the present conflict, and should also consider how far they can individually extend aid to China."

Referring more particularly to this resolution, the Council, on May 14, 1938, earnestly urged members of the League "to do their utmost to give effect to the recommendations contained in previous resolutions of the Assembly and Council . . . and to take into serious and sympathetic consideration requests they may receive from the Chinese Government in conformity with the said resolutions.

- (7) Although the coordination of the measures that have been or may be taken by governments cannot yet be considered, the fact none the less remains that China, in her heroic struggle against the invader, has a right to the sympathy and aid of the other members of the League. The grave international tension that has developed in another part of the world cannot make them forget either the sufferings of the Chinese people, or their duty of doing nothing that might weaken China's power of resistance, or their undertaking to consider how far they can individually extend aid to China.

At the 104th session of the League Council held on January 17, 1939, Dr. Koo renewed the appeal for effective League action against Japan. He asked for financial and economic measures including boycott of Japanese goods, an embargo on supplies to Japan, particularly of the raw materials necessary for Japanese war industries. In the case of airplanes and petroleum, Dr. Koo said an embargo upon them should be recommended by the Council. He also deemed that an assurance for facilities of transit and transport for Chinese war material is as necessary for the continuance of effective resistance to Japanese aggression. In addition, he asked that the Council take steps to institute a committee of coordination in order that the measures taken by the governments of states, whether members of the League or non-members, should produce the maximum effect.

Dr. Koo's proposals were discussed on January 18 and 19, 1939, by a Drafting Committee composed of representatives of Britain, France, U.S.S.R., China, Yugoslavia, and Latvia. On January 20, the Council adopted a resolution, which, *inter alia*, took note of the fact that a number of states had been taking individual action in aiding China, and invited the members of the League, particularly those directly concerned in the Far East, to examine, in consultation, should this appear appropriate, with other similarly interested Powers, the proposals made by the representative of China before the Council on January 17, for the taking of effective measures, especially measures of aid to China. Before the resolution was voted upon, Dr. Koo made a statement, in which he urged the prompt removal of restrictions and interdictions that had been enforced by some nations as regards the transport and transit of Chinese war materials. He added that it must be clear by now, after a year and a half of China's determined resistance that the victory of the Chinese cause would mean at once the salvage of the rights and interests of the countries directly concerned in the Far East on the one hand and on the other hand the vindication of the principles of security in peace and progress in order in the world.

At the 105th session of the League Council held from May 22-27, 1939, Dr. Koo again urged that member states of the League extend financial and material aid to China; refrain from doing anything which might weaken China's power of resistance; withhold from Japan the supply of instruments of war and raw materials necessary for the continuation of her aggression against China, particularly airplanes and oil; restrict the importation of Japanese goods, and adopt other means of retaliation against Japan's deliberate violation of the treaty rights of member states. He also asked that a general committee, or if preferred, a special limited body of the Powers directly interested in the Far East, be organized for the purpose of coordinating the foregoing measures. In the third place, he wanted further implementing of the Assembly and Council resolutions already adopted with a view to extending aid to China and restraining the aggressors.

On May 27, the Council adopted the following two resolutions:

#### I

The Council,

- (1) Referring to the resolutions and reports hitherto adopted by the Assembly and the Council relating to the appeal of the Chinese Government;
- (2) Having heard the statement of the Chinese representative at the Council's meeting on May 22, 1939;
- (3) Continuing to view with great concern the grave situation in the Far East created by Japanese aggression;

- (4) Renewing its expression of profound sympathy with China in her heroic struggle for the maintenance of her independence and territorial integrity threatened by the Japanese invasion, and in the suffering which is thereby inflicted on her people;
- (5) Deeming it desirable that measures of aid to China, including relief measures, and such other measures as may from time to time be found practicable should be made as effective as possible;
- (6) Following with interest the growing solidarity of action on the part of several states directly concerned in dealing with recent developments in the Far East;
- (7) Noting with satisfaction that a number of states have taken certain measures in aiding China;
- (8) Expresses the hope that such measures will be continued, and that the resolutions previously adopted by the Assembly and the Council will be further implemented;
- (9) Invites the members of the League, particularly those directly concerned in the Far East, in consultation with the Far East Advisory Committee, to examine the possibilities of the practical application of the measures above referred to.

#### II

The Council,

- (1) Having regard of the resolution of the Assembly of September 28, 1937, solemnly condemning the aerial bombardment of open towns in China by Japanese aircraft;
- (2) Taking note of the statement of the Chinese representative relating to the recent cases of ruthless attacks by Japanese aircraft on Chinese civilian populations resulting in an appalling loss of life;
- (3) Recalling the resolution adopted by the Assembly on September 30, 1938, by which the Assembly, taking note of the Chinese Government's request for the dispatch of an international committee to examine cases of the bombing from the air of civilian populations in China, recommends that the Council should take any such appeal into consideration;
- (4) Takes note with interest of the statement of the Chinese representative that a number of states, not all of them members of the League, have taken steps to discourage or prevent the supply of aircraft to Japan;

- (5) Invites the governments of the states represented on the Council and on the Far East Advisory Committee having official representatives in China to inform themselves as fully as possible as to cases of bombing by Japanese aircraft of civilian populations in China and to furnish without delay to the Council information so obtained.

Before accepting them, Dr. Koo said that the two resolutions before the Council did not mark much progress over the previous ones of the League. He could do nothing but accept them, however, as they were the only possible basis of general agreement among members of the Council. He hoped that the action contemplated in the present resolutions would lead to the adoption of new concrete measures in fuller conformity with the proposals of the Chinese Government, and therefore meeting more effectively the requirements of the situation. He also asked, in the name of the Chinese Government, as he did on previous occasions, that the appeal of the Chinese Government be placed on the agenda of the next session of the Council, and that his acceptance of the two resolutions was subject to this reservation.

The Council did not meet again until December, 1939, when it was convened to consider the Russo-Finnish dispute. The appeal of the Chinese Government was discussed in a private meeting on December 19, when the Chinese representative renewed the request that China's appeal be placed on the agenda of the next session of the Council.

#### CHINA'S DECLARATION OF WAR ON JAPAN

China's formal declaration of war on Japan was read by Dr. Quo Tai-chi, Minister of Foreign Affairs, on December 9, 1941. The declaration reads:

"Japan's national policy has always aimed at the domination of Asia and the mastery of the Pacific. For more than four years China has resolutely resisted Japan's aggression, regardless of suffering and sacrifice, in order not only to maintain her national independence and freedom but also to uphold international law and justice and to promote world peace and human happiness.

"China is a peace-loving nation. In taking up arms in self-defense, China entertained the hope that Japan might yet realize the futility of her plan of conquest. Throughout the struggle all the other Powers have shown the utmost forbearance, likewise in the hope that Japan might one day repent and mend her ways in the interest of peace in the entire Pacific region.

"Unfortunately, Japan's aggressive propensities have proved to be incorrigible. After her long and fruitless attempt to conquer China, Japan,



far from showing any sign of penitence, has treacherously launched an attack on China's friends, the United States of America and Great Britain, thus extending the theater of her aggressive activities and making herself the arch-enemy of justice and world peace. This latest act of aggression on the part of Japan lays bare her insatiable ambition and has created a situation

## JOINT DECLARATIONS OF THE UNITED NATIONS

### THE JANUARY 1, 1942 DECLARATION

The United States, Britain, China, the Netherlands and twenty-two other anti-Axis nations signed a joint declaration in Washington on January 1, 1942, pledging to use their full resources against the Axis and not to make separate armistice or peace with the enemy.

The signatories include Britain, the United States, the U. S. S. R., China, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, the Dominican Republic, Salvador, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, India, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Poland, South Africa and Yugoslavia.

The text of the joint declaration reads:—

"The Governments signatory hereto, having subscribed to the common program of purposes and principles embodied in the joint declaration of the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, dated August 14, 1941, known as the Atlantic Charter,\* and being convinced that complete victory over their enemies is essential to decent life, liberty, independence and religious freedom and the preservation of their rights and justice in their own lands as well as in other lands, and that they are now engaged in a common struggle against savage and brutal forces seeking to subjugate the world, declare:

\* "The President of the United States and the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, representing His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, being met together, deem it right to make known certain common principles in the national policies of their respective countries on which they base their hopes for a better future for the world.

- "1. Their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other.
- "2. They desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned.
- "3. They respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them.
- "4. They will endeavor, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further enjoyment by all States, great or small victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity.
- "5. They desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field, with the object of securing for all improved labor standards, economic advancement, and social security.
- "6. After the final destruction of Nazi tyranny, they hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want.
- "7. Such a peace should enable all men to traverse the high seas and oceans without hindrance.
- "8. They believe all of the nations of the world, for realistic as well as spiritual reasons, must come to the abandonment of the use of force. Since no future peace can be maintained if land, sea, or air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten, or may threaten, aggression outside of their frontiers, they believe, pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security, that the disarmament of such nations is essential. They will likewise aid and encourage all other practicable measures which will lighten for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of armament."

which no nation that believes in international good faith and human decency can tolerate.

"The Chinese Government hereby formally declares war on Japan. The Chinese Government further declares that all treaties, conventions, agreements and contracts concerning the relations between China and Japan are and remain null and void."

"First, each Government pledges itself to employ its full resources, military or economic, against those members of the Tripartite Pact and its adherents with whom such government is at war.

"Second, each Government pledges itself to cooperate with the Government signatory hereto and not to make separate armistice or peace with the enemies.

"The foregoing declaration may be adhered to by other nations which are or which may be rendering material assistance and contributions in the struggle for victory over Hitlerism.

"Done at Washington on January 1, 1942."

Chinese official quarters, according to a Central News dispatch on January 3, enthusiastically greeted the signing of the Joint Declaration by representatives of America, Britain, Soviet Union, China and twenty-two other countries in Washington on New Year's Day as a definite step toward winning the war and creating a better world order in the future.

The Chinese were particularly gratified because shortly after Japan precipitated the Pacific War, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek proposed to all powers concerned that there should be no separate peace with the enemies and that an agreement to that effect should be concluded.

The speedy conclusion of this declaration shows clearly that all powers united against aggression hold absolutely identical views regarding their peace aims and are at same time equally determined to carry the war to a victorious end.

The adherence of Soviet Union to the Joint Declaration provides the last link in the chain of anti-aggression nations. It shows that the peoples of twenty-six countries have all realized that war must be waged against aggression on all fronts if triumph is to be achieved at an early date.

### DECLARATION AGAINST DISPOSSESSION

On January 5, 1943, the Chinese Government announced that it had joined with the governments of sixteen other nations and with the French National Committee in declaring their solidarity and determination to do their utmost to defeat the method of dispossession practised by the governments with which they are at war against countries and peoples whom they have so wantonly assaulted and despoiled. The declaration is the result of consultation between the Governments of the United Kingdom, the United States and the British Dominions and was announced in London on January 5, at noon (Greenwich time).

The text of the declaration reads:—

"The Governments of the Union of South Africa, the United States, Australia, Belgium, Canada, China, the Czechoslovakian Republic, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Greece, India, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Poland,

## JOINT MILITARY OPERATIONS

### INTER-ALLIED MILITARY COUNCIL IN CHUNGKING

An Inter-Allied Military Council was created in Chungking on December 23, 1941. It met for three days under the chairmanship of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, Supreme Commander of the China war theater, and was attended by General Sir Archibald Wavell, Commander-in-Chief, India, and General George H. Brett, Chief of the U. S. Air Corps, and numerous other Chinese, British and American military officers.

The following communique was issued by the Chinese Government, on December 26, 1941, announcing the arrival in Chungking of General Sir Archibald Wavell and General George H. Brett:

"General Sir Archibald Wavell, Commander-in-Chief, India, and General George H. Brett, Chief of the U. S. Air Corps, arrived in Chungking from Rangoon on December 22, and on the same evening called on Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, and discussed with him various problems concerning joint war action among the democratic

U. S. S. R., Yugoslavia, and the French National Committee hereby issue a formal warning to all concerned and in particular to persons in neutral countries that they intend to do their utmost to defeat the method of dispossession practised by the Governments with which they are at war against the countries and peoples whom they have so wantonly assaulted and despoiled. Accordingly the Governments making this declaration and the French National Committee reserve all their rights to declare invalid any transfers of, or dealings with, property, rights and interests of any description whatsoever which are or have been situated in the territories which have come under the occupation or control, direct or indirect, of the Governments with which they are at war or which belong or have belonged to persons, resident in such territories. This warning applies whether such transfers or dealings have taken the form of open looting or plunder or of transactions apparently legal in form even when they purport to be voluntarily effected. The Governments making this declaration and the French National Committee solemnly record their solidarity in this matter."

The Chinese Government proposed to add in the text after the second sentence a new proviso which reads:—"Without prejudice, however, to the liability of the Governments with which the Allied Nations are at war, to make compensation for the dispossession of the above mentioned property, rights and interests." At a recent Inter-Allied meeting held in London, it was decided that the Chinese amendment should be recorded in the Procès-verbal attached to the Joint Declaration.

countries. On December 23, a military council was created in Chungking. On the third day of their stay, having completed their work, both General Wavell and General Brett left Chungking together for Rangoon whence they will proceed to their respective headquarters."

The following communique was released on the same day by the British Embassy regarding General Wavell's visit to Chungking:

"General Sir Archibald Wavell arrived in Chungking on December 22 for a visit of three days, during which he discussed with Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and General George H. Brett, Chief of the U. S. Air Corps, who also came specially for the purpose, questions of strategy in the Far East. The Minister of War, the heads of the American and British Military Missions, and several general officers of the Chinese High Command also took part in the discussions. Every aspect, both present and future, of the campaign in the Far East was considered and complete harmony of view and purpose was reached. General Wavell has returned to India."

### GENERALISSIMO ACCEPTS COMMAND FOR CHINA WAR THEATER

The White House announcement, issued on January 3, 1942, appointing supreme regional commands for the southwestern Pacific area, said with reference to China:

"General Chiang Kai-shek has accepted the Supreme Command over all land and air forces of the nations which are now or may in the future, be operating in the Chinese theater, including such portions of Indo-China and Thailand as may become available to troops of the United Nations. United States and British representatives will serve on his joint headquarters planning staff."

### UNITED INFORMATION COMMITTEE

Dr. Wang Shih-chieh, Chinese Minister of Information, announced the creation of a United Information Committee of the Anti-Aggression Powers in Chungking on January 5, 1942. This committee is composed of the Chinese Minister of Information and the representatives of the British, American, and Dutch diplomatic missions, with the Chinese Minister of Information as chairman. The membership of the committee may be augmented later on by representatives of other anti-aggression powers. The committee meets once a week and seeks to coordinate the efforts of the anti-aggression powers in all matters pertaining to publicity.

### STILWELL APPOINTED CHIEF OF STAFF

Lt.-Gen. Joseph W. Stilwell, of the United States Army, was appointed Chief of Staff of the China war theater in March, 1942, by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek who is Supreme Commander of the war theater.

### ALEXANDER'S VISIT TO CHUNGKING

While as Commander-in-Chief of the British forces in Burma, Lt.-Gen. Alexander visited Chungking toward the end of March, 1942. Before leaving he issued a statement saying he had come to pay his respects to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, to inform him of the latest military situation in Burma, and to make sure that he was satisfied with the arrangements made for provisioning and maintaining Chinese troops in that country.

"I have seen many units of the Chinese Army in Burma and I am much impressed with their fitness and toughness. They look happy, they work hard, and their behavior and discipline is excellent."

### PACIFIC WAR COUNCIL IN WASHINGTON

President Roosevelt announced the creation of the Pacific War Council in Washington on March 30, 1942. The Council is composed of the United States, China, Great Britain, Canada, the Netherlands, Australia and New Zealand. The President invited the following

to the first meeting on April 1, 1942: T. V. Soong, Chinese Minister of Foreign Affairs, Australian Minister Herbert Evatt, Netherlands Minister Alexander Loudon, British Ambassador Lord Halifax, New Zealand Minister Walter Nash and Mr. Hume Wrong, Counsellor of the Canadian Legation.

"It is imperative that all of the United Nations now actively engaged in the Pacific conflict," said Roosevelt's statement, "consider together matters of policy relating to their joint war effort. Effective war can only be prosecuted with the complete cooperation and understanding of all the nations concerned. The new Council will be in intimate contact with the similar body in London."

### CHINA DECORATES U. S. AIRMEN

Maj.-Gen. Chu Shih-ming, Chinese Military Attache in Washington, conferred the Military Order of China on July 26, 1942, on three United States army airmen who participated in the April 18 raid against Japanese cities. The presentation ceremony was held at the Army Hospital, Washington, where Captain Harold Watson, Captain Ted Lawich and Lt. Charles McLure were convalescing from injuries received in a subsequent accident.

### GENERALISSIMO'S MESSAGE TO CHINESE TROOPS IN INDIA

Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek telegraphed to the officers and men of the Chinese Expeditionary Forces in India on August 4, 1942, ordering them to behave themselves with modesty and courtesy toward the troops of the Allied countries, to show consideration and cordiality toward the Indian people, to avoid involving themselves in political questions or movements and to refrain from unconsidered criticisms or discussions of Indian politics.

Following is an English translation of the Generalissimo's message:

"The high morale and excellent conduct which characterized the Chinese Expeditionary Forces in making their hazardous and difficult way from Burma to India is a matter of pride and gratification to the whole Chinese nation and to me as your Commander-in-Chief.

"My great concern has been over the many wounded and ill among you and over whether suitable provisions have been made for your care. I have, therefore, dispatched Gen. Stilwell to inspect the conditions under which you are living, to ascertain your welfare, to issue orders which, in his opinion, would improve your well-being and would further intensify your training. Gen. Lo Cho-ying is also on his way to you.

"I trust that all of you will continue to conduct yourselves in a manner worthy of our great

country and of the traditions of the Chinese Army. Toward the troops of the Allied countries of whatever nationality with whom you may come into contact you must behave yourselves with modesty and courtesy. Toward the Indian people you must show consideration and cordiality.

"All Chinese soldiers, temporarily stationed for training on the soil of a friendly neighbor, should scrupulously avoid involving yourselves in political questions or movements, and should judiciously refrain from unconsidered criticisms or discussion of Indian politics. Remember that your sole duty is to take every

### CHINA'S RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES

#### LAUCHLIN CURRIE'S TRIPS TO CHINA

Dr. Lauchlin Currie, President Roosevelt's administrative assistant, made his first trip to China in February, 1941, to get first-hand information regarding the Chinese economic situation. He was accompanied by Emile Des Pres, senior economist of the Federal Reserve Bank's division of research and statistics. He made his second trip to China in July-August, 1942, to study conditions in China, including her wartime needs, on behalf of President Roosevelt.

#### LATTIMORE AS GENERALISSIMO'S ADVISER

Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek accepted President Roosevelt's recommendation and announced his appointment of Owen Lattimore as his personal political adviser on June 29, 1941. Dr. Lattimore arrived in Chungking on July 19, and stayed until he left for America on January 15, 1942. He returned to Chungking on October 14, 1942. Shortly afterwards he submitted his resignation to the Generalissimo in order to assume the post of director of the Pacific division of the American Office of War Information in San Francisco. The Generalissimo, however, only gave him leave of absence. Dr. Lattimore left Chungking on November 18, 1942.

#### TRAINING OF CHINESE AIR CADETS IN U. S.

Arrangements were completed in the latter part of 1941 whereby Chinese air cadets can undergo advanced training in U. S. Army Air Corps fields in various parts of America. The first class of Chinese cadets graduated in March, 1942, after having completed their courses in combat flying. Since then numerous batches of Chinese cadets have gone to America for similar training.

#### EXCHANGE OF MILITARY MISSIONS

President Roosevelt formally announced on August 26, 1941, that the U. S. Government was preparing to send a military mission to China

advantage of this period of training to prepare yourselves mentally, morally and physically to continue active military service. You should devote special attention to the study of military operations and the highly technical training now made available to you so that you will be enabled in the near future to shoulder worthily your part in the stupendous task of pushing the 'island dwarfs' into the sea, defeat Nazism and win the final great and glorious victory.

"Officers and men of the Chinese Expeditionary Forces, this is the achievement expected of you by your compatriots in your homeland and the world over."

which would operate under the direction of Secretary of War Stimson. The President disclosed that the mission would be headed by Brig.-Gen. John Magruder.

The President stated that the decision was in keeping with and along parallel lines to the projected mission to Russia and that the purpose of such missions would be identical except that the mission to Russia would not deal with the Lease-Lend Act.

The function of the mission, said the President, would be to study, in collaboration with the Chinese and other authorities, the military situation and its need for materials, to formulate recommendations regarding the type and quantity of items needed to assist this procurement in the U.S.A. and their delivery to China, and to give advice and suggestions of an appropriate character toward making lease-lend assistance to China as effective as possible in the interest of the United States, China and the world effort in resistance to the movement for conquest by force.

The first batch of seven members of the American military mission to China, headed by Brig.-Gen. John Magruder, arrived in Chungking on October 9, 1941.

In a press interview Gen. Magruder said the mission would remain in China for an indefinite period of time and its headquarters would be in Chungking. The sphere of the mission's activities, according to Gen. Magruder, would include not only Free China but also the Burma Road by which the materials supplied to China under the Lend-Lease Act were to be shipped to the interior.

It was officially announced on March 10, 1942, that the Chinese Government had decided to dispatch a military mission to Washington, which would be led by Gen. Hsiung Shih-hui, member of the National Military Council and until recently Chairman of the Kiangsi Provincial Government. The latter would be accompanied by a staff of officers, including Maj.-Gens. Hsu Pei-keng and Ching Chen and Col. Wang Keng, and participate as Chinese military



representative in war conferences of the United Nations in Washington.

The Chinese military mission, headed by Gen. Hsiung Shih-hui, arrived in Washington on April 13, 1942, to effect closer and fuller collaboration between China and the Allied Joint Staff Board. Gen. Hsiung returned to China in April, 1943, by way of Britain.

#### WITHDRAWAL OF U. S. MARINES

President Roosevelt announced on November 14, 1941, that he had ordered American Marines to withdraw from Peiping, Tientsin and Shanghai. He said that the withdrawal was to begin shortly.

Four hundred American marines left Shanghai for Manila on November 28, thereby evacuating all American defense forces from China except a few marines guarding the consulate in Shanghai and skeleton crews aboard the Yangtze Patrol gunboats and the contingents in Peiping and Tientsin.

#### THE US \$500,000,000 LOAN

The White House announced on February 2, 1942, that President Roosevelt had asked Congress to approve a US \$500,000,000 loan to China.

On February 4, 1942, the House of Representatives without debate unanimously passed and sent to the Senate the bill for the \$500,000,000 loan to China.

On February 5, the Senate passed the bill by a vote of 72 to nothing after Senator Connally, Secretary Knox, Secretary Stimson, Mr. Jesse Jones and Secretary Henry Morgenthau requested it as a means to strengthen China's internal economy.

On February 8 President Roosevelt's message to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek was released:

"It is a source of gratification to me and to the Government and to the people of the United States that the proposal which I made to Congress that the authorization for the purpose of rendering financial aid to China to the amount of \$500,000,000 was passed unanimously by both the Senate and the House of Representatives and has now become law.

"The unusual speed and unanimity with which this measure was acted upon by Congress and the enthusiastic support which it received throughout the United States testify to the whole-hearted respect and admiration which the Government and people of this country have for China. They testify also to our earnest desire and determination to be concretely helpful to our partners in the great battle for freedom.

"The gallant resistance of the Chinese Armies against the ruthless invaders of your country has called forth highest praise from American and all other freedom-loving peoples. The tenacity of the Chinese people both armed and

unarmed, in the face of tremendous odds in carrying on for almost five years resolute defense against an enemy far superior in equipment is an inspiration to fighting men and to all peoples in the other United Nations. The great sacrifices of the Chinese people in destroying the fruits of their soil so they could not be used by the predatory armies of Japan exemplify in a high degree the spirit of sacrifice which is necessary on the part of all to gain the victory toward which we are confidently striving. It is my hope and belief that the use which will be made of the funds now authorized by Congress of the United States will contribute substantially toward facilitating the efforts of the Chinese Government and people to meet economic and financial burdens which have been thrust upon them by invasion and toward the solution of problems of production and procurement which is essential for the success of their armed resistance to what are now our common enemies.

"I send you my personal greetings and best wishes. I extend to you across land and sea the hand of comradeship for the common good of our common goal—the common victory that shall be ours."

The following reply of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek to President Roosevelt was released on February 15:

"A few days ago I arrived in Delhi and while here received your most welcoming telegram informing me of the granting of US \$500,000,000 loan to China. I feel most grateful for your having accepted my suggestion *in toto* and with no conditions attached to the loan. On behalf of the Chinese army and people I wish to convey to you and through you to the Senate and the House of Representatives as well as the American people our deep gratitude for this timely assistance.

"For four and a half years our people have gone through untold pains and privations. The credit you have just secured for China will not only ameliorate our economic situation but will also heighten the morale of our people in the present struggle. The loan and supplies which we have received from you in the past enabled China to continue the war of resistance to the present time and fight side by side with our Allies. Through your timely assistance and support, inspiration and encouragement have been given all the peoples who are fighting for freedom; in a word they have benefited the whole anti-aggression front. Your far-sightedness in this world's greatest crisis is deservedly the envy of all real statesmen.

"Apart from military needs the money will be used principally for strengthening all the economic structure, redemption of legal tender notes, control of issue of currency notes, stabilization of prices of commodities and war-time standard of living and increase of production. I will give

you a detailed report after my return to Chungking.  
"I reciprocate most heartily your greetings and best wishes."

#### MORGENTHAU-SOONG STATEMENT

The following is the text of the joint statement made by Secretary of Treasury, Henry Morgenthau, and Dr. T. V. Soong, in Washington on March 22, 1942:

The United States of America and the Republic of China have to-day entered into an agreement giving effect to the Act of Congress unanimously passed by the Senate and House of Representatives authorizing \$500,000,000 of financial aid to China. The agreement has been approved by President Roosevelt and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and signed by Secretary Morgenthau on behalf of the United States and Dr. T. V. Soong on behalf of China.

This financial aid will contribute substantially toward facilitating the great efforts of the Chinese people and their government to meet the financial and economic burdens which have been imposed upon them by almost five years of continuous attack by Japan.

This agreement is one concrete manifestation of the desire and determination of the United States to aid China in our common battle.

The financial determination of terms upon which this \$500,000,000 financial aid given China, including the benefits to be rendered the United States in return, is deferred until progress of events after the war makes clearer the final terms and benefits which will be in the mutual interest of the United States and China and will promote the establishment of a lasting world peace and security.

The text of the agreement follows: "Whereas the United States of America and the Republic of China are engaged together with other nations and peoples of like mind in one cooperative undertaking against common enemies toward the end of laying the basis for a just and enduring world peace, securing order under law for themselves and all nations, and whereas the United States and China are signatories of the declaration of the United Nations on January 1, 1942, which declares each government pledges itself to employ its full resources military or economic against those members of the Tripartite Pact and its adherents with which such governments are at war; and whereas the Congress of the United States in unanimously passing Public Law Number 402 has declared that financial and economic aid to China will increase China's ability to oppose forces of aggression and that the defense of China is of the greatest possible importance and has authorized the Secretary of Treasury of the United States with the approval of the President to give financial aid to China; and whereas such financial aid will enable China

to strengthen greatly its war efforts against common enemies by helping China first, to strengthen its currency, monetary and banking systems; secondly, to finance and promote increased production, acquisition and distribution of necessary goods; thirdly, to retard the rise of prices and promote the stability of the economic relationship and otherwise check inflation; fourthly, to prevent hoarding of foods and other materials; fifthly, to improve the means of transportation and communications; sixthly, to effect further social and economic measures which promote the welfare of the Chinese people; and seventhly, to meet military needs other than those supplied under the Lend-Lease Act and take other appropriate measures in its war effort authorized by their respective governments for that purpose, have agreed as follows:

Article I. The Secretary of Treasury of the United States agrees to establish forthwith on the books of the State's Treasury on credit in the name of the Republic of China in the amount of five hundred million United States dollars. The Secretary shall make transfers from this credit in such amounts and at such times as the Government of the Republic of China shall request through its Minister of Finance to an account or accounts in the Federal Reserve Bank of New York in the name of the Republic of China or any agencies designated by the Minister of Finance. Such transfers may be requested by and such accounts at the Federal Reserve Bank of New York may be drawn upon by the Government of the Republic of China either directly or through such persons or agencies as the Minister of Finance shall authorize.

Article II. The financial determination of terms upon which this financial aid is given including the benefits to be rendered the United States in return is deferred by the two contracting parties until the progress of events after the war makes clear what final terms and benefits will be in the mutual interest of the United States and China and will promote the establishment of lasting world peace and security. In determining the final terms and benefits, full cognizance shall be given the desirability of maintaining one healthy and stable economic and financial situation in China during the post-war period as well as during the war and the desirability of promoting mutually advantageous economic and financial relations between the United States and China and the betterment of world-wide economic and financial relations.

Article III. This agreement shall take effect as from this day's date . . . Signed and sealed at Washington, District of Columbia, in duplicate, this twenty-first day of March, 1942. On behalf of the United States of America, Signed Henry Morgenthau, Secretary of Treasury. On behalf of the Republic of China, T. V. Soong, Minister of Foreign Affairs."

### U.S. LOANS TO CHINA SINCE WAR BEGAN

1938	Wood Oil Loan	US \$ 25,000,000
1940	Tin Loan	20,000,000
1940	Wolfram Loan	25,000,000
1941	Currency Stabilization Loan	50,000,000
1941	Credit Loan	50,000,000
1941	Mineral Products Loan	60,000,000
1942	Credit Loan	500,000,000
Total		US \$730,000,000

### PRESENTATION OF U.S.S. TUTUILA

The U. S. Government officially handed over its Yangtze gunboat U.S.S. "Tutuila" to the Chinese Government in a ceremony held in Chungking on March 17, 1942. The ship was subsequently rechristened "Mei Yuan" and incorporated into the Chinese fleet.

### THE SINO-AMERICAN LEASE-LEND AGREEMENT

The White House announced on June 2, 1942 that lend-lease negotiations with China had been concluded and an agreement was signed at noon that day by Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, and the Chinese Foreign Minister, T. V. Soong. The agreement lay down principles of mutual aid in the prosecution of war. The agreement is the same in all substantial respects as that of the United States and Great Britain.

Following is the full text of the agreement:

Whereas the Governments of the United States and China declare that they are engaged in a cooperative undertaking, together with every other people of like mind, to the end of laying the bases of a just and enduring world peace and of securing order under law to themselves and all nations;

Whereas the Governments of the United States and China as signatories of the declaration by the United Nations on January 1, 1942, subscribed to a common program of purpose and principle embodied in the joint declaration made on August 14, 1941, by the President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, known as the Atlantic Charter; and

Whereas the President of the United States of America has determined, pursuant to an act of Congress on March 11, 1941, that the defense of the Republic of China against aggression is vital to the defense of the United States of America; and

Whereas the United States of America has extended and is continuing to extend to the

Republic of China aid in resisting aggression and whereas it is expedient that the final determination of the terms or conditions upon which the Government of China receives such aid and of the benefit to be received by the United States of America in return therefore should be deferred until the progress of events makes clearer the final terms and conditions and benefits which will be in the mutual interest of the United States and China and will promote the establishment and maintenance of world peace; and

Whereas the Governments of the United States and China are mutually desirous of concluding now a preliminary agreement in regard to the provision of defense aid and in regard to certain considerations which shall be taken into account in determining such terms and conditions, and the making of such an agreement has in all respects been duly authorized; and all acts, conditions and formalities which they may have to perform, fulfill or execute prior to making such an agreement in conformity with the law either of the United States of America or China have been performed, fulfilled or executed as required;

The undersigned, being duly authorized by their respective governments for that purpose, have agreed as follows:

Article 1. The Government of the United States of America will continue to supply the Government of China with such defense articles, defense service and defense information as the President of the United States of America shall authorize to be transferred or provided.

Article 2. The Government of China will continue to contribute to the defense of the United States and in strengthening thereof will provide the U. S. with such articles of service, facilities or information as it may be in a position to supply.

Article 3. The Government of China will not, without the consent of the President of the United States of America, transfer the title to or possession of any defense article or defense information transferred to it under the act of March 11, 1941, of Congress of the United States of America or permit the use thereof by anyone not an officer or employee or agent of the Government of China.

Article 4. If, as a result of the transfer to the Government of the Republic of China of any defense article or defense information, it becomes necessary for that government to take any action or make any payment in order fully to protect any of the rights of the citizens of the United States who have patent rights in and to any such defense article or information, the Government of China will take up such action or make such payment when requested to do so by the President of the United States of America.

Article 5. The Government of the Republic of China will return to the United States of America at the end of the present emergency as determined by the President of the United States of America such defense articles transferred under this agreement as shall not have been destroyed, lost or consumed and as shall be determined by the President to be useful in the defense of the United States of America or the Western Hemisphere or to be otherwise of use to the United States of America.

Article 6. In the final determination of the benefits to be provided to the United States of America by the Government of the Republic of China, full cognizance shall be taken of all property, services, information, facilities or other benefits or consideration provided by the Government of the Republic of China subsequent to March 11, 1941, and accepted or acknowledged by the President on behalf of the United States of America.

Article 7. In the final determination of the benefits to be provided, after conferring with the United States of America, by the Government of the Republic of China in return for aid furnished under the Act of Congress of March 11, 1941, the terms and conditions thereof shall be such as not to burden the commerce between the two countries but to promote mutually advantageous economic relations between them and the betterment of worldwide economic relations. To that end, they shall include a provision for agreed-to action by the United States of America and the Republic of China which will be open to participation by all other countries of like mind and which will be directed to the expansion by appropriate international and domestic measures of production or employment and the exchange and consumption of goods which are the material foundation of the liberty and welfare of all peoples, to the elimination of all forms of discriminatory treatment in international commerce to the reduction of tariffs and other trade barriers, and to the attainment of economic objectives which are identical with those set forth in the joint resolution made on August 14, 1941, by the President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom.

At an early convenient date, conversation shall be begun between the two governments with a view to determining, in the light of the governing economic conditions, the best means of attaining the above stated objectives by their own agreed-to action.

Article 8. This agreement shall take effect as from this day's date. It shall continue in force until a date to be agreed upon by the two governments

### WILLKIE'S VISIT

In his tour of Middle Eastern countries, the Soviet Union and China as President Roosevelt's personal envoy, Wendell L. Willkie entered China in Sinkiang on September 29, 1942, and arrived in Chungking on October 2, 1942, as a guest of the Chinese Government. He stayed until October 7, when he left the Chinese wartime capital to inspect the Yellow river front. Later he returned to Chengtu, where his giant Liberator plane flew him across Siberia to America via Alaska. The day he left Chungking he issued the following statement:

"I have travelled through thirteen countries. I have seen kingdoms, soviets, republics, mandated areas, colonies and dependencies. I have seen an almost bewildering variety of ways of living, and ways of ruling and of being ruled. But I have found four things common to all the countries I have visited and to all the ordinary people in those countries with whom I have talked.

"First, they all want the United Nations to win the war.

"Second, they want the United Nations to get on the offensive now.

"Third, they all want a chance at the end of the war to live in liberty and independence.

"Fourth, they all doubt, in varying degrees, the readiness of the leading democracies of the world to stand up and be counted for freedom for others after the war is over. This doubt kills their enthusiastic participation on our side.

"Now without the real support of these common people, the winning of war will be enormously difficult. The winning of the peace will be nearly impossible. This war is not simply a technical problem for task forces. It is also a war for men's minds. We must organize on our side not simply the sympathies but the active, aggressive, offensive spirit of nearly three-fourths of the people of the world who live in South America, Africa, Eastern Europe and Asia. We have not done this, and at present are not doing this. We have got to do it.

"First of all, everything I have seen on this trip has strengthened my conviction that defense will not win the war. I think we have got to pin this idea in our hats, and look at it often. Defense won't win for us either in a military sense or in a political sense.

"It is my personal opinion that the time has come for an all-out armed offensive everywhere by all the United Nations. We are ready to deliver some knock-out punches, if I can believe what I have seen with my own eyes.

"We can start these punches at home, but they have got to connect if they are going to hurt the enemy. In the United States we have talked a lot to the world about our production



figures. But some of our allies have seen very little of our actual arms. It is only natural for them to wonder where our boasted production has gone. It is only natural for some of them to wonder how much longer they will have to eat like children at the second table.

"Some of the countries I have visited look on the map like the last stop on the line. But in terms of the blows they are delivering to our enemies, they should be the first stops. China and Russia have each contributed to the defeat of the Axis aggressors, some 5,000,000 of their finest men in casualties. Each has engaged and held with heroic tenacity powerful and ruthless enemies. It is both just and wise for us to see to it that they secure an equitable share of our arms production.

"However, men need more than arms to fight and win this kind of war. They need enthusiasm for the future and a conviction that the flags they fight under are in bright, clear colors. The truth is that we as a nation have not made up our minds as to what kind of a world we want to speak for when victory comes.

"Especially here in Asia the common people feel that we have asked them to join us for no better reason, than that Japanese rule would be even worse than Western imperialism. This is a continent where the record of the Western democracies has been long and mixed, but where people—and remember there are a billion of them—are determined no longer to live under foreign control. Freedom and opportunity are the words which have modern magic for the people of Asia, and we have let the Japanese, the most cruel imperialists the modern world has known—steal these words from us and corrupt them to their own uses.

"Most of the people in Asia have never known democracy. They may or may not want our type of democracy. Obviously all of them are not ready to have democracy handed to them next Tuesday on a silver platter. But they are determined to work out their own destiny under governments selected by themselves.

"Even the name of the Atlantic Charter disturbs thoughtful men and women I have been talking to. Do all of those who signed it, these people ask, agree that it applies to the Pacific? We must answer this question with a clear and simple statement of where we stand. And we must begin to sweat over our common problem of translating such a statement into plans which will be concrete and meaningful to the lives of these millions of people who are our allies.

"Some of the plans to which such a statement would lead are already clear, I deeply believe, to most Americans.

"We believe this war must mean an end to the empire of nations over other nations. No foot of Chinese soil, for example, should be or

can be ruled from now on except by the people who live on it. And we must say so now, not after the war.

"We believe it is the world's job to find some system for helping colonial peoples who join the United Nations' cause to become free and independent nations. We must set up firm time-tables under which they can work out and train governments of their own choosing, and we must establish iron-clad guarantees, administered by all the United Nations jointly, that they shall not slip back into colonial status.

"Some say these subjects should be hushed until victory is won. Exactly the reverse is true. Sincere efforts to find progressive solutions now will bring strength to our cause. Remember, opponents of social change always urge delay because of some present crisis. After the war, the changes may be too little and too late.

"We must develop between nations trade and trade routes strong enough to give all people the same vested interest in peace which we in America have had.

"In the United States, we are being asked to give up temporarily our individual freedom and economic liberty in order to crush the Axis. We must recover this freedom and this liberty after the war. The way to make certain we do recover our traditional American way of life with a rising standard of living for all is to create a world in which all men everywhere can be free."

#### JOHNSON AND GAUSS

Nelson T. Johnson, American ambassador to China, left Chungking on May 14, 1941. He was replaced by Clarence E. Gauss, who presented his credentials to Mr. Lin Sen, Chairman of the National Government on May 26, 1941. Mr. Gauss returned to America in March, 1943.

#### HU SHIH AND WEI TAO-MING

Dr. Hu Shih, Chinese ambassador to the United States, resigned from his post in September, 1942, and was later made a high adviser to the Executive Yuan of the National Government. Dr. Wei Tao-ming, then Chinese ambassador-designate to Vichy, was appointed China's new ambassador in Washington. Dr. Wei presented his credentials to President Roosevelt on October 6, 1942.

#### CRIMINAL JURISDICTION OVER U.S. ARMED FORCES IN CHINA

An understanding was reached between Dr. K. C. Wu, Political Vice-Minister in charge of Ministerial Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, on behalf of the Chinese Government, and Mr. George Atcheson, American Charge d'Affaires, on behalf of the United States Government, regarding criminal jurisdiction over

American armed forces temporarily stationed in China, according to a statement issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on May 21, 1943.

The understanding has been placed on record by an exchange of notes to the effect that jurisdiction over criminal offenses committed by members of the armed forces of the United States in China shall be exclusively exercised by the service courts and the military and naval authorities of the United States, and that the United States Government shall make like arrangements to ensure to such Chinese forces as may be stationed in territory under United States jurisdiction a position corresponding to that of the United States forces in China.

The full text of the Notes exchanged is as follows:

Note from American Charge D'Affaires  
To The Political Vice-Minister in Charge  
of Ministerial Affairs,  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

May 21, 1943

Excellency:

Confirming the understanding reached in the conversations which have taken place in Chungking between representatives of our two Governments, I have the honor to inform Your Excellency that it is the desire of the Government of the United States that the service courts and authorities of its military and naval forces shall during the continuance of the present conflict against our common enemies exercise exclusive jurisdiction over criminal offenses which may be committed in China by members of such forces.

If cases arise in which for special reasons the service authorities of the Government of the United States may prefer not to exercise the above jurisdiction, it is proposed that in any such case a written statement to that effect shall be sent to the Chinese Government through diplomatic channels, in which event it would be open to the Chinese authorities to assume jurisdiction.

Assurance is given that the service courts and authorities of the United States forces in China will be willing and able to try, and on conviction to punish, all criminal offenses which members of the United States forces may be alleged on sufficient evidence to have committed in China and that the United States authorities will be willing in principle to investigate and deal appropriately with any alleged criminal offenses committed by such forces in China which may be brought to their attention by the competent Chinese authorities or which the United States authorities may find have taken place.

Insofar as may be compatible with military security, the service authorities of the United States will conduct the trial of any member of the

United States forces for an offense against a member of the civilian population promptly in open court in China and within a reasonable distance from the place where the offense is alleged to have been committed so that witnesses may not be required to travel great distance to attend the trial.

The competent United States authorities will be prepared to cooperate with the authorities of China in setting up a satisfactory procedure for affording such mutual assistance as may be required in making investigations and collecting evidence with respect to offenses alleged to have been committed by members of the armed forces of the United States. As a general rule it would probably be desirable that preliminary action should be taken by the Chinese authorities on behalf of the United States authorities where the witnesses or other persons from whom it is desired to obtain testimony are not members of the United States forces. In prosecutions in Chinese courts of persons who are not members of the United States forces, but where members of such forces are in any way concerned, the service authorities of the United States will be glad to render such assistance as is possible in obtaining testimony of members of such forces or in making appropriate investigations.

Inasmuch as the interests of our common cause will best be served by provision that the foregoing arrangement may be placed on a reciprocal basis, the Government of the United States will be ready to make like arrangements to ensure to such Chinese forces as may be stationed in territory under United States jurisdiction a position corresponding to that of the United States forces in China.

It is proposed that the foregoing arrangement shall be in effect during the present war and for a period of six months thereafter.

If the above arrangement is acceptable to the Chinese Government, this note and the reply thereto accepting the provisions outlined shall be regarded as placing on record the understanding between our two Governments.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to Your Excellency the assurances of my highest consideration.

(Signed) George Atcheson, Jr.

Replying Note from the Political Vice-Minister  
in charge of Ministerial Affairs, Ministry of  
Foreign Affairs, to American Charge  
D'Affaires.

May 21, 1943

Monsieur le Charge d'Affaires:

I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your Note of today's date reading as follows:

(Here the American note is quoted in full.)

I have the honor to inform you that I am authorized to confirm, on behalf of the National Government of the Republic of China, that the understanding arrived at between our respective Governments regarding jurisdiction over criminal offenses which may be committed by members of the United States armed forces in China, with a provision for placing the said understanding on a reciprocal basis to ensure to such Chinese forces as may be stationed in territory under United States jurisdiction a

position corresponding to that of the United States forces in China, is as set forth in your Note under reply.

The present Note and your Note under reply will accordingly be regarded as placing this understanding on record.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to you the assurances of my high consideration.

(Signed) Kuo-cheng Wu.

## CHINA'S RELATIONS WITH GREAT BRITAIN

### THE S. G. CHENG CASE IN TIENTSIN

The case occurred in Tientsin on April 9, 1939, when S. G. Cheng, a puppet official, was murdered. Whereupon, four Chinese suspects were arrested in the British Concession. When the Japanese demanded their extradition, the British authorities refused on the ground that there had not been enough evidence to prove their guilt. In May the Chinese Government, in reply to its representation, obtained the assurance from the British embassy in Chungking that the four men would not be handed over to any third party. Japanese-engineered anti-British activities soon broke out in Tientsin and culminated in the blockade of the British Concession beginning June 14. Subsequently, British-Japanese conversations were initiated in Tokyo. In August, the British embassy informed the Chinese Government that as fresh evidence had been produced during the conversations, the British Government considered that a *prima facie* case against the four men had been established and therefore the latter would be handed over to the local "court" in Tientsin for trial. This so-called court, however, was set up by the Japanese military. Consequently, the Chinese Government lodged a vigorous protest with the British embassy in Chungking on August 12. On the same day the spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs made the following statement:

"The Chinese Government has lodged a formal protest with the British Government against their decision to hand over four Chinese citizens detained in the British Concession at Tientsin to the so-called 'local court' for trial. Such a decision is obviously illegal and contrary to the undertaking made by Great Britain as a member of the League of Nations not to recognize any situation brought about by force. If these men are innocent, they should have been set free. If there had been found evidence to show their complicity in any crime, they should have been turned over to the authorities of the Chinese Government. The whole world knows that the so-called 'local court' is a part of the puppet created by the Japanese aggression against China, and to hand over any Chinese citizens to such a 'court' is equivalent to surrendering them to our enemy whose treat-

ment of innocent civilians is too well known to be imagined. This is indefensible on either legal or moral grounds.

"The decision reached by the British Government in the matter is the more surprising, as the Chinese authorities had been given to understand by the British authorities that the men under custody would continue to be detained in the British Concession, which meant that they would not be handed over to any other parties. After a long delay, in the course of the unusual negotiations at Tokyo, and with the British Concession at Tientsin remaining in the clutches of an unprecedented blockade instituted by Japanese militarists, the British Government began to consider what purported to be additional evidence which, in their opinion, makes it necessary to hand over the unfortunate Chinese to the puppet of the aggressor. It is most regrettable that, while China is putting up heroic resistance against the disturber of world peace, the British Government should have found it expedient to yield to the latter's unjustified demand and to allow their own rights and interests in the Far East to be jeopardized."

On the same day Mr. Quo Tai-chi, Chinese ambassador to the Court of St. James, sent a note to the British Foreign Office urging the British Government to reconsider its decision to hand over the four men. He called attention to Article 21 of the Treaty of Tientsin of 1858 which provides for the delivery of Chinese offenders "on due requisition by the Chinese authorities," and pointed out that in the present case the demand for the delivery of the four men was made not by the competent authority of the Government of China but by the Japanese army and its puppets. Their surrender to the Japanese controlled courts, the note declared, would not be justified on legal grounds and would in fact, be inconsistent with the traditions of British justice, by removing all chances of fair trial. It might furthermore be interpreted as *de facto* recognition of an illegal regime and involve far-reaching political principles and consequences.

On August 25 the British Government replied to the Chinese notes of protest. The following

extract was published by the British Foreign Office:

"The reply emphasizes that the only reason why His Majesty's Government did not approve the surrender of the men immediately when a warrant was issued by the local district court was that adequate evidence connecting the men with the crime alleged was not produced at the time.

"During the conversations, however, which opened in Tokyo on July 24, the Japanese produced evidence, and on the highest legal advice available to His Majesty's Government it was decided that a *prima facie* case had now been established against two of them on a charge of murder and against the other two on a charge of being members of an illegal terrorist organization.

"His Majesty's Government, the reply continues, have always maintained that the case should be dealt with on its own merits and without reference to other issues arising from the situation at Tientsin.

"There could be no question of using the accused men as pawns, or of bartering their disposal against some concession which might accrue to His Majesty's Government.

"With regard to the court to which the men should be handed over, the reply states, the British Municipal Council at Tientsin has been sending persons for trial by, and executing warrants issued by, the *de facto* district court for the past two years, and it would not appear that the execution of the present warrant differs in any way from the many hundreds which preceded it during that period.

"No other course is open to the municipal authorities of the British Concession," the note asserts, "and I trust that Your Excellency will agree, upon reflection, that the alternative suggested in your note that the Chinese offenders should be removed from Tientsin in face of Japanese opposition, in order that they should be handed over to the recognized Chinese authorities in another part of China, is neither practicable nor reasonable.

"At the same time, it is not possible to keep the offenders indefinitely in custody without trial and, therefore, no practical alternative exists but to hand them over to the local authorities.

"His Majesty's Government are unable to agree that the action taken by the British authorities at Tientsin in this or similar cases in the past constitutes recognition of the so-called 'Provisional Government' which, in fact, is recognized neither by them nor, as far as we know, by any other government.

"It has always been the aim of His Majesty's Government that the neutrality of the British Concession at Tientsin should not be in any way a base for hostile activities.

"This attitude has been made clear to the Chinese Government on more than one occasion in the past. For example, in July, 1938, representations were made by His Majesty's ambassador in regard to the use of the British Concession at Tientsin as a base for anti-Japanese activities, and assurances were received from the Chinese Government that activities of this nature would not be allowed to recur.

"In view of the intimation they have made to the Japanese Government (that, in their opinion, a *prima facie* case has been made out), the reply concludes, 'His Majesty's Government consider it no longer possible to refuse the surrender of the men to the local Chinese authorities at Tientsin, and the British Municipal Council has been advised to that effect.'"

On August 30, the Chinese ambassador sent another note to the British Foreign Office stating that the Chinese Government found it impossible to agree with the British contention that the proposed course of action was in accordance with the normal practice or compatible with Britain's treaty obligations toward China. As regards the British practice during the two previous years of surrendering Chinese to the so-called district court in Tientsin, the Chinese Government had been without official knowledge of this practice and certainly had never acquiesced in it. The question at issue was not whether the men were guilty or innocent but whether or not the British Government was justified or entitled to hand over Chinese nationals to a Japanese puppet court. The principle at issue was of very considerable importance, since the prosecutors of the four Chinese nationals were the Japanese who also controlled the puppet court to which it was proposed to hand the four men. The note urged that the four men should not be delivered up pending negotiations. The British rejoinder to the Chinese note of August 30, did not come till September 9, four days after the four men had been handed over to the puppet court in Tientsin. It contended that the British Government had no treaty obligation to transport Chinese offenders from one part of the country to another in order to hand them over to a Chinese court. As the four men could not be detained indefinitely in custody without trial, the British Government had no other course but to hand them over to the "local district court."



### CHINESE STATEMENT ON ANGLO-JAPANESE FORMULA

On July 27, 1939, the spokesman of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs made the following statement:

"Chinese authorities have just learned the contents of the 'formula' \* to which the British Government agreed 'in order to clear the way for the Tientsin discussions' and cannot conceal their disappointment at the attitude they have assumed at the present Tokyo conference.

"It is to be exceedingly regretted that the British Government should have seen fit to note the so-called special requirements of the Japanese forces in China, which are engaged, as Great Britain herself, along with other member states of the League of Nations, has declared, in the invasion of and aggression against this country. It is also surprising that the British Government should have undertaken to make it plain to British authorities and British nationals in China that they should refrain from any acts or measures prejudicial to the attainment of the objects of the Japanese invading forces.

"The Chinese Government, however, takes note with some satisfaction of the statement made by Premier Chamberlain in the House of Commons that it was impossible to change the British Government's policy at the dictation of any other Power and the assurance given by the Premier yesterday that the declaration the British Government had just made did not connote any change in their policy in China—a policy based on treaty and justice as well as Great Britain's own rights and interests, which she has heretofore so consistently adhered to and carried out. The British Government need scarcely be reminded of the pledge they made under the various League resolutions to refrain from taking any action which might have the effect of weakening China's power of resistance and thus of increasing her difficulties in the present conflict, and also to make all measures of aid to China as effective as possible.

"The Chinese Government confidently believes that, despite the misgivings to which the announcement of the 'formula' has given rise, the British Government will take an attitude

consonant with their legal and moral obligations toward China in dealing with the so-called local issues at Tientsin and show by action the firmness of their policy concerning the situation created by Japanese aggression in this country."

### THE ANGLO-JAPANESE TIENTSIN AGREEMENT AND THE CHINESE DECLARATION

As the result of conversations in Tokyo in July, 1939, in regard to questions concerning the British Concession in Tientsin, the British and Japanese Governments reached the following agreement:

#### (A) Maintenance of Law and Order within the British Municipal Area:

Detailed arrangements have been made for closer cooperation between the authorities of the British Concession and the local Japanese authorities for the suppression of all terrorist activities prejudicial to the maintenance of peace and order and to the security of the Japanese forces. In particular, arrangements have been made for Japanese gendarmes to offer information and to be present when action is taken by the British municipal council police against persons in whose criminal activities the Japanese authorities are interested.

Such action will include supervision of dealings in arms and explosive substances, supervision of publications, cinemas and political meetings and arrest and disposal of persons engaged in the activities mentioned in the preceding paragraphs.

Arrangements have also been made for the suppression of unauthorized wireless communications.

#### (B) Silver Coin and Bullion:

The silver coin and bullion now in the Bank of Communications shall remain in that bank under the joint seal of the British and Japanese consuls-general in that city.

Except as provided in paragraph 3 below, this silver shall remain under seal until such time as the governments of the United Kingdom and Japan shall agree upon other arrangements for its custody. The silver shall be sealed in the presence of the British and Japanese consuls-general in Tientsin.

\*The text of the Craigie declaration, as released by the Tokyo Foreign Office and confirmed in the House of Commons by Prime Minister Chamberlain, on July 24, 1939, is as follows:

"His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom fully recognize the actual situation in China where the Japanese forces in China have special requirements for the purpose of safeguarding their own security and maintaining public order in the regions under their control and that they have to suppress or remove any such acts or causes as will obstruct them or benefit their enemy.

"His Majesty's Government have no intention of countenancing any acts or measures prejudicial to the attainment of the above-mentioned objects by the Japanese forces and they will take this opportunity to confirm their policy in this respect by making it plain to the British authorities and the British nationals in China that they should refrain from such acts and measures."

Before the silver is thus placed under seal a quantity equivalent to the sum of £100,000 sterling shall be set on one side to provide a fund for the relief of famine conditions resulting directly from the floods in certain areas and the drought in other areas of North China. Such relief shall include the provision of certain machinery urgently required from abroad to drain the water from the flooded areas, thus diminishing the danger of epidemics.

The appropriate British authorities will be prepared to give all possible facilities to enable the silver thus set on one side to be allocated for relief purposes, to be sold, and to be used for the purchase of foodstuffs and other articles required for relief.

The British and Japanese consuls-general in Tientsin shall appoint experts who, under the supervision of the consuls-general, will assist them in the administration of this fund and will advise the existing relief committee in Peiping as to the distribution of the food and other articles required for relief purposes. In addition to British and Japanese experts, experts of Chinese and French nationality and one expert of another nationality shall be invited to assist in this work.

#### (C) Currency:

The British Municipal Council will place no difficulty in the way of the use of "Federated Reserve Bank" currency within the municipal area.

The British Municipal Council have decided to withdraw the licenses of all exchange shops not established prior to 1939. Licenses will not be issued to new shops unless they are vouched for by the native bankers' guild and have adequate capital. Licenses will be renewable monthly.

Any points of difficulty which may arise in connection with the application of the measures mentioned in the preceding paragraphs will be discussed locally between the British and Japanese consuls-general.

In regard to the Tientsin silver question, the following declaration was issued by the Chinese Government on June 21, 1940:

"With regard to the silver now stored in the British Concession at Tientsin, the Chinese Government desires to place on record the point already repeatedly emphasized in the recent conversations between the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the British ambassador on the subject, to the effect that the silver in question is the property of the Bank of Communications and part of the reserve fund for *fapi* (legal tender notes).

"The Chinese Government further records its view that the British Government are acting as trustees for the interest of the Bank of

Communications and the Chinese Government in respect of the balance of the silver after a quantity equivalent to £100,000 sterling has been set aside by the Chinese Government for relief purposes in North China. Consequently the arrangement now made for sealing the silver does not alter its status in any respect."

### CLOSING OF THE BURMA ROAD

The British Government officially announced on July 18, 1940, that an agreement had been reached with the Japanese Government whereby the Burma Road would be closed for three months to the transport to China of arms and ammunition, as well as petrol, lorries, and railway materials. The Chinese Government lodged a strong protest with the British Government. Meanwhile, the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs made the following statement:

"Despite repeated representations made by the Chinese Government regarding transport through the Burma route, the British Government has yielded to Japanese pressure and accepted the unreasonable demands of Japan by consenting to suspend for a specified period of time the route in question for the transit of certain kinds of articles to China. The Chinese Government cannot but view with the gravest concern the decision taken by the British Government and must regard the action thus contemplated as at once unfriendly and unlawful.

"It goes without saying that the continued maintenance of transit through Burma is of especial importance to China's struggle against aggression. By complying with Japan's demands Britain has given immense benefit to the aggressor, and her action is thus tantamount to aiding and abetting China's enemy, a step which by no stretch of imagination could be considered reconcilable with the policy *vis-a-vis* China to which the British Government has repeatedly declared its intention to adhere.

"The Burma route is not only an important channel for China's communication with the outside world but also an artery of commerce in which many countries have a vital interest. The free use, therefore, of the Burma route should not be considered as merely a question concerning China and Burma, but should be viewed as an international issue involving especially those countries having large commercial interests in the Far East.

"As regards the legal aspects of the question, the position of the British Government is absolutely untenable.

"Japan is engaged in an undeclared war of aggression against China and therefore cannot properly make use of any of the belligerent rights recognized by international law. Nor

are third countries bound to assume the ordinary obligations of a neutral as the word is understood in its proper sense. Even if Japan acquired the full status of a belligerent, her rights would be limited to visiting and searching neutral vessels and capturing contraband on the high seas or in the territorial waters of the enemy, effectively blockading the enemy's seaports, and other actions sanctioned by well-established rules of warfare. Japan would have no right to demand of a neutral country the stoppage of the exportation or transit of any supplies destined in the ordinary course of commerce for the enemy. If a neutral country should accede to such a demand, it might be considered to have divested itself of the status of neutrality. And the unneutral character would be all the more glaring if the third country, while prohibiting the exportation or transit of certain supplies destined for one belligerent, should permit the free transport of supplies of the same or a similar kind to the other belligerent.

"In the light of these indisputable principles of international law, the decision of the British Government to suspend the use of the Burma route for the transport of certain kinds of goods to China is clearly unjustifiable and indefensible.

"The trade relations between China and Burma have rested and still rest on certain treaties concluded between China and Great Britain in the latter part of the nineteenth century. These treaties contain definite stipulations concerning the maintenance and development of trade routes between China and Burma, which neither party would have the right to close in time of peace or war.

"According to the resolutions adopted by the League of Nations in regard to the Sino-Japanese conflict, all member states are obliged to refrain from taking any action which might have the effect of weakening China's power of resistance and thus of increasing her difficulties in the present conflict and to consider how far they can individually extend aid to China. The closing of the Burma route is undoubtedly calculated, according to the Japanese plan, to weaken China's power of resistance and prevent the extension of aid to China by other Powers. In executing the war schemes of the Japanese, Great Britain has set at naught the undertakings to which she subscribed as one of the leading members of the League of Nations.

"Thus, by her decision to close the Burma route in compliance with Japan's demands, the British Government has acted contrary to the principles of international law, Sino-British treaties, and the resolutions of the League of Nations.

"No greater mistake would be committed than to suppose that with her sea routes of commerce interrupted, China would be compelled to sue for peace and accept whatever demands

might be dictated by Japan. Our long campaign of armed resistance has been an unprecedented struggle against heavy odds and under immense difficulties. Never for one moment have we been disheartened. Three years' bitter experience has taught us at least one thing: the harder we fight and the longer we endure, the nearer will be our goal and the better assured will be our victory. We will fight on whatever may befall us. We are confident we will win whether we are betrayed or not."

#### WITHDRAWAL OF BRITISH TROOPS

The British Government announced on August 9, 1940, its decision to withdraw all British forces in Shanghai and North China cities where they had been for over thirty years following the Protocol of 1901. Withdrawal began immediately after the announcement and the last batch of British forces left Shanghai on August 27.

#### TIENTSIN TELEPHONE ADMINISTRATION CASE

The Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs lodged a protest with the British, French and Italian embassies in China on October 4, 1940, on the illegal transfer of the Chinese telephone administration in Tientsin to the puppet regime in North China. The transfer, it was pointed out in the Chinese notes, had no validity and the Chinese Government reserved full rights in the case.

#### KOO PRESENTS CREDENTIALS

Dr. V. K. Wellington Koo, Chinese ambassador to the Court of St. James, presented his credentials to King George VI on July 10, 1941. Dr. Koo succeeded Dr. Quo Tai-chi, who was recalled.

#### BRITISH MILITARY MISSION

The appointment of Maj.-Gen. Lancelot Denny, then British military attaché in China, as head of the British Military Mission in Chungking, was announced in London on December 17, 1941. He was killed in an airplane accident near Kunming on March 14, 1942, and was succeeded by Maj.-Gen. Bruce. At the beginning of 1943, Maj.-Gen. G. E. Grimsdale was appointed head of the British Military Mission.

#### SIR ARCHIBALD'S TRANSFER

On January 16, 1942, London announced the transfer of Sir Archibald Clark Kerr, British ambassador to China, to succeed Sir Stafford Cripps as British ambassador in Moscow. Sir Archibald left Chungking on February 4.

#### SIR HORACE PRESENTS CREDENTIALS

Sir Horace James Seymour, British ambassador to China succeeding Sir Archibald Clark Kerr, presented his credentials to Mr. Lin Sen,

Chairman of the National Government, on March 7, 1942.

#### PRESENTATION OF BRITISH GUNBOATS

The British Government officially handed over its Yangtze gunboats, H. M. S. "Falcon," H. M. S. "Cannet" and H. M. S. "Sandpiper" to the Chinese Government in a ceremony held in Chungking on March 17, 1942. The first two gunboats were in Chungking at the time of the presentation and were renamed "Ying Teh" and "Ying Shan," respectively, while the last one was in Cahngsha. The three gunboats were subsequently incorporated into the Chinese fleet.

#### GENERALISSIMO RECEIVES G. C. B.

King George VI of England, through Sir Horace Seymour, British ambassador to China, conferred the highest British military honor G. C. B. (Grand Cross of the Bath) upon Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek in Chungking, on April 24, 1942, in recognition of his brilliant leadership, his glorious successes and his invaluable contribution to the United Nations.

The Generalissimo, who personally received the Cross, thanked the King for the honor and expressed his fervent hope that the bond between China and the British would be strengthened and that the final victory for the United Nations would not be far off.

#### CHINA'S RELATIONS WITH AUSTRALIA, BURMA, CANADA AND INDIA

##### AUSTRALIA

##### EXCHANGE OF DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS

The Chinese Government and the Australian Government decided to accredit diplomatic representatives to each other in May, 1941.

Sir Frederic William Eggleston, the first Australian minister to China, arrived in Chungking on October 20, 1941. He presented his credentials to Mr. Lin Sen, Chairman of the National Government, on October 28.

Mr. Hsu Mo, first Chinese minister to Australia, presented his credentials to Governor-General Lord Gowrie, on September 16, 1941.

##### BURMA

##### IMMIGRATION DISCUSSIONS

China sent a delegation to Burma to discuss Chinese immigration and related questions in mid-September, 1941, with T. K. Tseng, Resident Representative of the Executive Yuan in Burma and former Administrative Vice-Minister of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as the chief delegate.

Cordial speeches were exchanged in Rangoon on September 19, between T. K. Tseng and Premier U. Saw at a ceremony marking the opening of negotiations.

#### BRITISH LOANS TO CHINA SINCE WAR BEGAN

1938	Export Trade Loan	£ 3,500,000
1939	Currency Stabilization Loan	5,000,000
1941	Currency Stabilization Loan	5,000,000
1941	Credit Loan	5,000,000
1942	Credit Loan	50,000,000
Total		£68,500,000

#### CHINESE SEAMEN'S AGREEMENT

An agreement providing for an improvement of terms and conditions for Chinese seamen employed on British ocean-going vessels was signed in London by Dr. Wellington Koo, Chinese ambassador, for the Chinese Government, and Lord Leathers, Minister of War Transport, for the British Government, according to a Reuter's dispatch dated September 25, 1942.

#### BRITISH PARLIAMENTARY MISSION

The British Parliamentary Mission, composed of four members—Lord Ailwyn and Lord Teviot of the House of Lords and Mr. H. J. Scrymgeour-Wedderburn and Mr. J. J. Lawson of the House of Commons, arrived in Chungking on November 10, 1942. The mission came upon the invitation of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. It visited Chungking, Chengtu, Sian and Kunming before it left for India on December 11, 1942, en route back to England.

Mr. Tseng, whose speech was read in his absence owing to ill health, said that Britain, Burma and China were practically on the same democratic front. He referred to Mr. Churchill's latest speech as showing increasing realization that Japan's southward expansion program was a real menace. Present negotiations were another example of growing cooperation between Burma and China.

Premier U. Saw emphasized in his speech that while there were proposals seeking to impose restrictions on new Chinese immigration into Burma, it was not the intention of the Burmese Government to impose unfair or humiliating conditions on Chinese immigrants. He added that his Government proposed to deal generously with Chinese nationals already in Burma.

The Premier acknowledged that benefit accrued to Burma in the past from Chinese immigration. Harmony between Burmans and Chinese must be retained at all costs, he added, and the best way of achieving it was by allaying the natural fears of the Burmese by imposing agreed restriction on Chinese immigration.

The discussions were adjourned *sine die* on September 23, in order to enable the two delegations to consult the Chungking and London governments.



## DEMARCATON OF BOUNDARY

Notes were exchanged and signed between Foreign Minister Wang Chung-hui and British Ambassador Sir Archibald Kerr Clark Kerr on June 18, 1941, regarding the delimitation of the frontier between Burma and China.

Notes Exchanged  
Waichiaopu, Chungking  
June 18, 1941

Sir,

I have the honor to refer to the Notes exchanged between Your Excellency's predecessor and the then Minister of Foreign Affairs on 9th April, 1935, defining the terms of reference of a Boundary Commission to be charged with the investigation of the undemarcated southern section of the Yunnan-Burma frontier; and to the additional understanding embodied in further Notes exchanged upon the same day.

The Joint Boundary Commission having been duly established and having submitted its report to our respective governments in accordance with its terms of reference, the question of modifications of the general treaty line found by the Commission has since been under negotiations between the National Government of the Republic of China on the one hand and His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the Government of Burma (as the successor in interest of the Government of India) on the other, as provided in the additional understanding of the 9th April, 1935.

I now have the honor to inform Your Excellency that the National Government of the Republic of China agrees that for the boundary line described in paragraphs 3 and 4 of Article 3 of the Agreement between China and Great Britain, signed at Peking on the 4th February, 1897, shall be substituted the following:

"The line commences at the confluence of the Nam Hpa (Nam P'a Ho) with the Nam Ting (Nam Tin Ho), where Boundary Pillar No. 97 of the northern demarcated section is erected, and ascends the Nam Ting for a distance of about three miles to a point in the neighborhood of the village of Pang Kwi where Cairn No. 1 was erected by the Sino-British Commission 1899-1900 on the left bank of the Nam Ting at the point where a spur strikes the river. The frontier then follows this spur generally in a southerly direction to Cairn No. 2, where the road from Hopang to Mengting crosses the spur, and thence to Cairn No. 3 on the summit of the hill known as Loi Hseng (1366). It then follows the watershed between the basin of the Nam Tap including the Ham Loi Hsa (which, also known as the Kung Meng Ho, is a tributary of the Nam Tap, joining it through or under a natural bridge) and the basins of the Namhka and the Nam Kun (Hei Ho) to hill 2360 approximately longitude 98° 57' 14" and latitude 23°

21' 40"). Thence it descends the nearest tributary of the Nam Pan stream (Chin Ho) which has its source about half a mile west of hill 2303 and follows the Nam Pan stream to its confluence with the Nam Kunlong (approximately longitude 99° 0' 30" and latitude 23° 14' 48"). It then descends the Nam Kunlong to the point where that river is joined by a tributary on its left bank at approximately longitude 98° 59' 50" and latitude 23° 13' 20"; the line then ascends that tributary to its source and continues south-eastwards on to a ridge along which it proceeds to hill 1970 (approximately longitude 99° 3' 58" and latitude 23° 10' 42"); thence it proceeds southwards along the same ridge to hill 1770 (approximately longitude 99° 3' 27" and latitude 23° 7' 25"). The line then proceeds generally eastwards along the watershed between the basins of the Nam Kunlong and the Nam Htung till it strikes the point on the Salween-Mekong watershed (approximately longitude 99° 10' and latitude 23° 6' 23") about a mile south of hill 2179. Thence it follows the Salween-Mekong watershed first generally in an easterly direction to a point just south of hill 2178 and then generally in a southerly direction over hill 2146 to hill 1930 (approximately longitude 99° 34' and latitude 22° 56'). Thence it proceeds first in a southwesterly, then westerly and finally north-westerly direction along the watershed between the basin of the Nam Ma and the basins of the Nam Hka Lam (Ku Hsing Ho) and the Nam Hka Hkao (Han Hsiang Ho) to hill 1523 (approximately longitude 99° 26' 43" and latitude 22° 56' 43"); thence it descends the nearest tributary of the Nam Hka Hkao and follows that river down to approximately latitude 22° 50' 52", where it is joined by a tributary on its right bank. The line then ascends this tributary in a westerly and southwesterly direction to its source and crosses the ridge, of which hill 2180 (approximately longitude 99° 24' 38" and latitude 22° 48' 37") is the highest point, by the most direct route to the source of the nearest tributary of the Nam Sak and follows that stream down to its confluence with the Nam Hse (approximately longitude 99° 18' 42" and latitude 22° 44' 18"); thence it descends the Nam Hse to its confluence with the Nam Hka (approximately longitude 99° 23' 20" and latitude 22° 35' 10") and thence it follows the Nam Hka river downstream to Boundary Pillar No. 1 of the southern demarcated section."

A copy of the Boundary Commission map with the line marked in red is appended.

I have the honor to request that Your Excellency will confirm that His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the Government of Burma agree that the boundary line described above shall be substituted for the line described in paragraphs 3 and 4 of Article 3 of the Agreement between China and Great Britain signed at Peking on the 4th February, 1897.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to Your Excellency the assurance of my highest consideration.

(Signed) Wang Chung-hui

His Excellency  
Sir Archibald Clark Kerr,  
K.C.M.G.,  
His Britannic Majesty's Ambassador,  
Chungking.

British Embassy,  
Chungking, June 18, 1941.

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of Your Excellency's Note of today's date which reads as follows:

(Here Dr. Wang Chung-hui's note is quoted in full.)

In reply I have the honor to confirm that His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland on their own behalf and on behalf of the Government of Burma agree that the boundary line, as quoted above, shall be substituted for the line described in paragraphs 3 and 4 of Article 3 of the Agreement between China and Great Britain, signed at Peking on the 4th February, 1897.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to Your Excellency the assurance of my highest consideration.

(Signed) Archibald Clark Kerr,

His Excellency,  
Dr. Wang Chung-hui,  
Minister of Foreign Affairs,  
Chungking.

British Embassy,  
Chungking, June 18, 1941.

Sir,

With reference to the Notes exchanged between us today regarding the determination of the southern section of the boundary between Burma and Yunnan, I am authorized by the Government of Burma to inform Your Excellency's Government that the Government of Burma is willing as a gesture of goodwill to undertake to permit Chinese participation in any mining enterprises which may be undertaken by British concerns on the eastern slopes of the Lufang ridge provided that Chinese interests in these enterprises do not exceed 49 per cent of the total of the capital of each enterprise.

The area in question is shown enclosed by a red line on the attached map and its boundaries are as follows:

A line commencing at the summit of hill 2304 running along the ridge to the hill of Lufang Camp (3025), thence along the ridge to Nan Hsiang village, thence in a southeasterly direction down the ridge to join the Nam It stream, thence following the course of the Nam It upstream to its source below the peak of hill 2304, thence to the summit of hill 2304.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to Your Excellency the assurance of my highest consideration.

(Signed) Archibald Clark Kerr,

His Excellency,  
Dr. Wang Chung-hui,  
Minister of Foreign Affairs,  
Chungking.

Waichiaopu,  
Chungking, June 18, 1941.

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of Your Excellency's Note of today's date which reads as follows:

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I have the honor to request that you will convey to the Government of Burma the National Government's appreciation of this gesture of goodwill.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to Your Excellency the assurance of my highest consideration.

(Signed) Wang Chung-hui.

His Excellency  
Sir Archibald Clark Kerr, K.C.M.G.,  
His Britannic Majesty's Ambassador,  
Chungking.

It may be recalled that the boundary in question had remained undemarcated ever since the conclusion in 1897 of the Sino-British Treaty relating to Burma. In the latter part of 1933 the Lufang incident occurred and a Burmese party was believed to have been despatched there to explore the mines. Thereupon the Waichiaopu proposed the setting up of a Joint Boundary Commission to make investigations on the spot with a view to the definitive settlement of the boundary question, which proposal was eventually accepted by the British Government.

The Joint Boundary Commission, provided for under the exchange of Notes of April 9, 1935, met at Maklawt on December 1, 1935. It consisted of five Commissioners, a neutral Chairman, Colonel F. Iselin (of the Swiss Artillery), Messrs. J. Cague (then Secretary of the Burmese Government) and F. S. Grose (then Superintendent of the Shan States), with Mr. W. Stark Toller (then British Consul at Tengyueh) as Adviser. Chinese Commissioners were Messrs. Yew-koh Leong and Yin Ming-teh.

The Commission made two trips to the border regions in the winters of 1935-36 and 1936-37, completing their task in April, 1937. A report was afterwards submitted by the Commission to the respective Governments. During the subsequent years negotiations were carried on between the Waichiaopu and the British Embassy in an amicable and conciliatory spirit, leading to the exchange of notes on June 18, 1941.

According to this agreement, the areas of Panghung, Yungkwang, Monghsaw and Hsineng, together with the circles of Mongka, Kwan Long, Kwan Yong and Man Myen, which have been consistently claimed by China, are ceded to her with a total area of approximately 2,000 square kilometers. On the other hand the Chinese Government made certain concessions enabling Burma to administer some of the territory claimed by the British Government.

As for Lufang, it lies outside of the line defined by the Sino-British treaties as well as the so-called Liu-chen line, and, according to the neutral Chairman's decision, should be within British territorial limits. But in view of the fact that the area had had intimate historical ties with China and that it was one of the factors which contributed to the Chinese proposal to redemarcate the boundary, the Chinese Government suggested a scheme of joint Sino-British participation in the mining enterprises at Lufang.

The following statement published by the Press Attache's Office of the British Embassy on June 18 gives further background information:

"In 1885 Great Britain annexed Upper Burma and by Article 3 of the Convention relating to Burma and Tibet entered into between Great Britain and China in the following year it was agreed that the frontier between Burma and China should be marked by a Delimitation Commission.

"Negotiations on the question of delimitation were opened in 1892 and resulted in a Convention signed on March 1, 1894, defining the frontier. A subsequent agreement between Great Britain and China in 1897 made certain modifications in this paper frontier and also provided for its demarcation. But when it came to delimiting the frontier on the ground considerable difficulty was experienced owing to the inexactness of the terms used in the Con-

vention, and though three separate Boundary Commissions took the field in the open seasons of 1897-8, 1898-9 and 1899-1900, no agreement was reached regarding the portion of the frontier (about 200 miles) between the rivers Nam Ting and Nam Hka.

"The matter was then allowed to remain in abeyance for over 30 years until in 1934 it again became a live issue owing to a difference of opinion regarding the right to investigate certain mineral deposits believed to exist in the disputed area. Accordingly it was agreed that a further attempt should be made to delimit the frontier, and by an exchange of notes signed in Nanking on April 9, 1935, the Chinese Government, His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and the Government of India agreed to the establishment of a further Boundary Commission under the Chairmanship of a Neutral Commissioner to be appointed by the President of the Council of the League of Nations. The latter duly nominated a Swiss officer, Col. F. Iselin, and the Commission, after two seasons in the field (1935-6 and 1936-7) submitted its report and recommendations to the governments concerned.

"The Commission having ascertained the 'Treaty Line' on the ground, the next step was for the governments concerned to discuss whether any modification was necessary in the light of the Commission's report or of 'such topographical, historical or political factors' as might appear relevant. Negotiations were on foot to convene a conference at Nanking for this purpose when hostilities broke out in the summer of 1937 and the matter was again shelved.

"When, however, the Chinese Government decided to press on with the construction of the Burma-Yunnan Railway, the question of the frontier again became acute, since the easiest alignment would take the railway across the area in dispute. In these circumstances, aided by the more friendly atmosphere prevailing between China and Great Britain, a solution was quickly found, and this solution is embodied in the notes which are now being exchanged. It will be seen that the first exchange of notes, which defines in detail the line which is in future to be the frontier between Yunnan and Burma, is supplemented by a second exchange of notes defining the boundaries of an area on the Burma side of the frontier in which the Government of Burma agrees to permit Chinese participation in any mining enterprises which may be undertaken by British concerns."

#### CANADA

#### EXCHANGE OF DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS

China and Canada agreed to exchange diplomatic missions in August, 1941. In his note to Foreign Minister, Dr. Quo Tai-chi, Sir Archibald Clark Kerr, British Ambassador,

expressed the hope and belief that the establishment of the Canadian Legation "will promote the maintenance and development of cordial relations not only between China and Canada, but also between China and the whole of the British Commonwealth of Nations." Dr. Quo stated in his reply that the Chinese Government shares the sentiments expressed in the Ambassador's note.

Mr. Liu Shih-shun, the first Chinese Minister to Ottawa, arrived in Canada in February, 1942. In November, 1942, the Canadian Government appointed Maj.-Gen. Victor Wentworth Odlum as the first Canadian Minister to China. The latter arrived in Chungking on April 30, 1943.

#### INDIA

#### NEHRU'S TRIP TO CHINA

That China and India should cooperate for their own good as well as the good of the world was emphasized by Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, former president of the All-India National Congress in a radio broadcast in Chungking on August 30, 1939.

Mr. Nehru arrived in Chungking on August 23. Among the Chinese leaders he met were Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek, to whom he paid a high tribute for their great leadership.

He said in his radio broadcast:

I came to Chungking, the wartime capital of China, a few days ago from India. I flew from Allahabad and passing Calcutta, Akyab, Bangkok, Saigon and Hanoi, within two days I stood on Chinese soil. A dream I had cherished for long years past was realized, and a strange excitement filled me as I look at this mighty land and the great people who inhabit it. I saw myself as one of the long succession of pilgrims who had traveled to and fro between India and China from dim ages past and who had forged so many golden links of faith and art and culture and civilization between them. Perhaps, I thought, even I, small as I am, a soldier in India's cause, might be an agent of historic destiny. Perhaps this visit of mine might tighten the old bonds and bring India and China nearer to one another, so that they might look into each other's eyes again, and the old memories revive and warm their hearts, and they should pledge their comradeship in the great tasks of today and tomorrow.

I had come when danger and peril confronted the people of China and when brutal aggression had despoiled their fair land. I brought them messages of greeting and solidarity from the President of the Indian National Congress, from our great leader Mahatma Gandhi and from our poet and seer Rabindranath Tagore. I brought them also the echo of the voices of vast numbers of my countrymen who had testified at innumerable gatherings during the past two

years to their comradeship with the people of China. It was a worthy gift, worthy even of China, that I brought.

And I found a noble welcome for that gift, and goodwill beyond measure for India and her people, and our earnest desire that we should hold together for the sake of the freedom of our dearly-loved countries, for Asia, and for the world.

Out of terrible misfortune and unparalleled disaster has arisen a New China, vital and vibrant, displaying the face of her deep-rooted and magnificent culture of old, and yet with a new gaze and a new hope for the future. Who can crush this spirit or stop China from treading the path of her destiny? What aggression, howsoever brutal or inhuman, can succeed over a people, with the strength of ages in them, who, calm of purpose, are determined to resist it to the uttermost?

It is exceedingly sad that a great people like the Japanese, whose many fine qualities we so admired in the past, should have indulged in brutal aggression and barbarous destruction in China. China has suffered terribly, but the loss to Japan is infinitely greater for she has trafficked with her soul and with the vital principles which humanity holds dear. What shall it profit a people if they lose their soul and crush their spirit for the sake of a seeming advantage? We have had no ill-will against Japan, we harbor no ill-will even today against her people. But the policy which Japan has pursued in China is a policy which we detest. For long years past we have struggled for our own freedom and we have become convinced that there can be no true freedom till imperialism and its name-sakes are rooted out of the world. We consider imperialism, and fascism and the aggression that goes to further them, as evils which must be resisted, whosoever might indulge in them. Imperialism does not become less evil because an Asiatic power indulges in it. The days of imperialism and aggression are numbered in the world, for the world is sick of both. I earnestly trust that the people of Japan will remove this blot on their fair name and side, as they should, with peace, freedom and democracy.

The world rattles back to barbarism and brutal violence and the law of the jungle governs its activities more and more. In the name of realism and power politics all decency and principles are cast to the winds. In this age, more than any other, the ideals and principles which India and China have treasured for so long have to be emphasized and acted upon. Our realism has never been divorced from principles and moral standards; I hope it never will be. China and India have a mission and a message for the world, and they can no longer shirk their responsibility. In this great task they have to cooperate together for their own good as well as the good of the world.



The world is all awry and it is inevitable that the future will see a refashioning of nations. But let it be remembered that no such refashioning will have any value unless it postulates the cooperation of a free China and a free India.

When the time comes for me to return, I shall go back from China with regret. But I shall carry with me the inspiration of seeing a great task nobly performed, of vast difficulties overcome, of disasters faced with calm courage, of an old nation abundantly justifying the culture that has made her great, of a new China being born, looking with confident eyes on the future, of conflicts resolved in a common unity to face a common peril, of ultimate triumph assured. I shall carry back with me admiration for the great man and the great leader, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, helmsman of China's boat of destiny, symbol of her unity and of her unconquerable determination to resist aggression and to free herself. And may I pay my homage to the gracious lady, who shares his great tasks and his triumphs, and who is leading and inspiring China's womanhood to stand shoulder to shoulder with their menfolk in resistance to all attacks on China's freedom and in building up the nation of tomorrow.

China and India are the two ancients among the nations of the world, but they are young today and vital. They have been countries of yesterday, but the future beckons to them, and tomorrow is theirs.

Men and women of China, comrades in a great enterprise, I take leave of you, but remember that our hearts are with you and our hands are ever outstretched to you in friendship and comradeship. May our cooperation endure and lead not only to the freedom of our two great countries, but to peace and freedom all over this warring and unhappy world.

#### GENERALISSIMO'S VISIT TO INDIA

Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek, accompanied by a party of staff officers, arrived in Calcutta on February 4, 1942. On February 9, they arrived in New Delhi as guests of the Viceroy of India.

On March 5, the following official communique was released in Chungking:

Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek returned to Chungking at noon today from a trip to Burma and India.

They spent a fortnight in India where they visited Calcutta and New Delhi and met the Marquess of Linlithgow, Viceroy of India, and Lady Linlithgow, Messrs. Gandhi and Nehru, Mrs. Ranjit Pandit, and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, the poetess, and other leaders of the National Congress, Mr. Jinnah, leader of the Moslem League, native princes and leaders in other walks of life.

From New Delhi the Generalissimo took a flying trip to the Northwest Frontier where he visited the famous Khyber Pass and inspected the local garrisons. Later, they together visited the International College established by India's great poet Rabindranath Tagore at Santiniketan.

During the sojourn, satisfactory decisions were reached on plans for the coordination of war efforts between China and India and for the transportation of Chinese war materials through new roads from India.

While the Generalissimo was busy discussing military and political problems, Madame Chiang was active lining up Indian women leaders against aggression.

Toward the end of February the party returned to Kunming. But on March 3, the Generalissimo flew back to Lashio where he met Gen. Sir Archibald Wavell who came specially from the Netherlands East Indies to discuss military problems with the Commander-in-Chief of the China theater. Sir Reginald Hugh Dorman-Smith, Governor of Burma, also came from Rangoon to call on the Generalissimo and exchange views on civil issues.

During his stay in the border town, the Generalissimo presided over a military conference attended by commanders of the Chinese expeditionary forces in Burma. The Generalissimo flew back to Kunming on March 4.

#### GENERALISSIMO'S FAREWELL MESSAGE TO THE INDIAN PEOPLE ON FEBRUARY 22, 1942

During my two weeks' stay in India, I have had the opportunity of discussing very frankly with the highest civil and military authorities as well as with my Indian friends the questions concerning joint plans against aggression and the objective of our common efforts. I am happy to find that there was full sympathy and general understanding between us. My mission is now drawing to a close. On the eve of my departure I wish to bid farewell to all my friends in India and to thank you for the many kindnesses showered upon Madame Chiang and myself. The brevity of my stay has not permitted me to tell the Indian people all that I wished to say. I avail myself of this opportunity to address to them the following farewell message. It is the expression of my high and warm regard and long-cherished hopes for India. It comes from the depth of my heart.

Since my arrival in this country I have found to my great satisfaction that there exists among the people of India unanimous determination to oppose aggression.

China and India comprise one half of the world's population. Their common frontier extends to three thousand kilometers. In the two thousand years' history of their intercourse, which has been of a purely cultural and

commercial character, there has never been an armed conflict. Indeed, nowhere else can one find so long a period of uninterrupted peace between two neighboring countries. This is irrefutable proof that our two peoples are peace-loving by nature. Today they have not only identical interests but also the same destiny. For this reason they are in duty bound to side with the anti-aggression countries and fight shoulder to shoulder in order to secure real peace for the whole world.

Moreover, our two peoples have an outstanding virtue in common, namely, the noble spirit of self-sacrifice for the sake of justice and righteousness. It is this traditional spirit which should move them to self-negation for the salvation of mankind. It is also this spirit which has prompted China to be the first to take up arms against aggression and in the present war to ally herself unhesitatingly with the anti-aggression countries not merely for the purpose of securing her own freedom, but also for the purpose of securing justice and freedom for all mankind.

I venture to suggest to my brethren, the people of India, that at this most critical moment in the history of civilization our two peoples should exert themselves to the utmost in the cause of freedom for all mankind, for only in a free world could the Chinese and Indian peoples obtain their freedom. Furthermore, should freedom be denied to either China or India, there could be no real peace in the world.

The present international situation divides the world into two camps, the aggression camp and the anti-aggression camp. All those who are opposed to aggression and are striving for the freedom of their own country and others should join the anti-aggression camp. There is no middle course and there is no time to wait for developments. Now is the crucial moment for the whole future of mankind. The issue before us does not concern the dispute of any one man or country, nor does it concern any specific questions pending between one people and another. Any people therefore which joins the anti-aggression front may be said to co-operate, not with any particular country, but with the entire front. This leads us to believe that the Pacific War is a turning point in the history of nationalism. The method, however, by which the peoples of the world could attain their freedom might be different from what it used to be. The anti-aggression nations now expect that in this new era people of India will voluntarily bear their full share of responsibility in the present struggle for the survival of a free world in which India must play a part. A vast majority of the world's opinion is in full sympathy with India's aspiration for freedom. This sympathy, which is so valuable and so difficult to obtain, cannot be appraised in terms of money or material, and should therefore by all means be retained.

The present struggle is one between freedom and slavery, between light and darkness, between good and evil, between resistance and aggression. Should the anti-aggression front lose the war, the civilization of the world would suffer a setback for at least one hundred years and there would be no end to human sufferings.

So far as Asia is concerned, the cruelties committed by Japanese militarists are beyond description. The sufferings and oppression which have been the fate of Formosans and Koreans since the subjugation by Japan should serve as a warning. As regards the barbarities committed by the Japanese army since our war of resistance, the fall of Nanking in December, 1937, is a case in point. Over 200,000 civilians were massacred within one week. For the last five years the civilian population in Free China have been subjected, almost daily, to bombing from the air and bombardment by heavy artillery. In every place invaded by the Japanese troops, men, women, and children were either assaulted or killed. Young men and educated people receive their special attention with the result that men of intelligence and ideas have been tortured. Nor is this all. Institutions of culture, objects of historical interest and value, and even articles necessary for livelihood, such as cooking utensils, ploughs, tools and domestic animals have been either forcibly taken away or destroyed. In places under Japanese military occupation, rape, rapine, incendiarism and murder are of frequent occurrence. Moreover, they have with official connivance everywhere opened opium dens, gambling houses and houses of ill fame in order to sap the vitality of the people and destroy their spirit. Such is the disgraceful conduct of the Japanese, the like of which is not to be found in countries invaded by the other aggressor nations. What I have just said is but an inadequate description of the true state of affairs as reported by Chinese and foreign eye-witnesses.

In these horrible times of savagery and brute force the people of China and their brethren, the people of India, should, for the sake of civilization and human freedom, give their united support to the principles embodied in the Atlantic Charter and in the joint-declaration of twenty-six nations and ally themselves with the anti-aggression front. I hope they will wholeheartedly join the Allies, namely, China, Great Britain, America and the Soviet Union, and participate shoulder to shoulder in the struggle for the survival of a free world until complete victory is achieved and the duties incumbent upon them in these troubled times have been fully discharged.

Lastly, I sincerely hope that I confidently believe that our ally, Great Britain, without waiting for any demands on the part of the people of India, will as speedily as possible give them real political power so that they may be

in a position further to develop their spiritual and material strength and thus realize that their participation in the war is not merely an aid to the anti-aggression nations for securing victory, but also a turning point in their struggle for India's freedom. From an objective point of view, I am of the opinion that this would be the wisest policy which will redound to the credit of the British Empire.

### CHINA'S RELATIONS WITH FRANCE\*

#### CLOSING OF THE INDO-CHINA ROUTE

In June, 1940, following the collapse of France in Europe, the French Indo-China Government yielded to the Japanese pressure by agreeing to close the Indo-China route to the transport of war materials to China. On June 23, Dr. Wang Chung-hui, Chinese Minister of Foreign Affairs, made the following statement:

"Owing to their geographical proximity, China and French Indo-China have long had relationships of an intimate nature. For many years their commercial and economic needs have been complementary to each other. Today as a channel of international trade, Indo-China is of vital importance not only to the commerce between China and foreign countries but also to the security of this country.

"China and France have concluded several agreements concerning this region, the most recent of which is 'La Convention Reglant les Rapports entre la Chine et la France relativement a l'Indo-Chine Francaise et aux Provinces Chinoises Limitrophes', signed on May 16, 1930. Under this convention, France agrees to the transportation through Indo-China of all kinds of merchandise, including arms and ammunition. In view of the above-mentioned commitment on the part of the French Government, the Chinese Government has the right to request France to live up to her obligations and to keep the Indo-China route open for international trade. However, during the past year or so the Chinese Government has not made use of this route for the transit of arms and ammunition out of consideration for any possible difficulty in which a friendly nation might become involved.

"Unfortunately, the militarist government of Japan, taking full advantage of the international situation in Europe, has openly or otherwise coerced the French Government to close the Indo-China route to international trade. The Chinese Government considers it most regrettable that the Japanese demands have not been categorically rejected, for the object of these demands is to compel France to blockade a country with which she is at peace and on friendly terms. Such a blockade cannot be justified from the standpoint of the Sino-French convention or of international law.

\*On August 1, 1943, China severed her diplomatic relations with the Vichy Government.

### EXCHANGE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Sir Zafrulla Khan, the first Agent-General for India, arrived in Chungking on May 27, 1942. He presented his letter of introduction from the Viceroy of India to Mr. Lin Sen, Chairman of the National Government, on June 8. He returned to India on October 3.

On March 31, 1942, the Chinese Government announced the appointment of Shen Shih-hua as High Commissioner to India.

"The failure of the French Government to take a strong stand against the Japanese demands can only encourage further disturbance of the peace in the Far East on the part of the Japanese militarists. This the Chinese Government cannot but view with the gravest concern. The Chinese Government is fully convinced that any military movement of the Japanese in furtherance of their plan of aggression on any part of Asia or the Pacific will be carried out with the view of utilizing their aggressive gains for attaining their principal object of conquering China. It is obvious that should Japan invade Indo-China, her goal would not be limited to the seizure of the French colony, but also to make use of Indo-China as a base for attacking China. Therefore, in case of an armed Japanese invasion of Indo-China, the Chinese Government in order to preserve China's existence and independence will be constrained to take such measures in self-defense as may be deemed necessary to cope with the situation in pursuance of its fixed policy of resistance against aggression."

### DR. WANG'S STATEMENT VIS-A-VIS INDO-CHINA

Dr. Wang Chung-hui, Minister of Foreign Affairs, issued the following statement on August 28, 1940:

In resisting Japanese aggression it has never been the intention of China to cause any troops to enter any foreign country provided Japanese forces do not in any way make use of its territory against China. The Chinese troops now stationed near Indo-China will therefore remain on Chinese territory and will not be ordered to march across the border as long as Japanese troops do not appear in Indo-China.

It has now, however, been learned that Japan is planning to land troops in Indo-China and take other kinds of military action in the French Colony with a view to attacking Chinese territory. The Chinese Government wishes to declare emphatically that in the event of actual entry of Japanese armed forces in Indo-China, under whatever pretext and under whatever conditions, the Chinese Government will consider it a direct and immediate menace to the security of China's territory, and will at once adopt measures of self-defense by despatching likewise armed forces

to Indo-China to deal with the situation. The Chinese Government will be thus absolved from any responsibility for any consequences resulting from the adoption of such necessary measures. On the other hand, should the French authorities permit or tolerate any Japanese activities in Indo-China, the French Government could not evade responsibility for all the consequences, including any loss or damage that might be caused to the life and property of Chinese residents in Indo-China.

### DESTRUCTION OF RAILWAY BRIDGE

The spokesman of the Foreign Office made the following statement on September 19, 1940, regarding the destruction by order of the Chinese authorities of the Hokeou Bridge of the Indo-China-Yunnan Railway and Chinese assumption of control over the Hokeou-Kunming section of the railway:

"In view of the Japanese demand upon Indo-China for the right to make use of its territory as a base of operations for moving troops into China, the Chinese Government cannot but take such measures as it may deem necessary to deal with the situation. The destruction of the Hokeou Bridge is nothing but a measure of self-defence.

"The Hokeou-Kunming section of the railway lies completely within Chinese territory. It follows therefore that in case of emergency the Chinese Government is entitled to assume control over this section of the railway.

"Furthermore, the assumption of such authority by the Chinese Government is based upon the Sino-French railway agreement of 1903, Article 24 of which provides that if China is engaged in war with a foreign country this railway shall not observe the rules of neutrality but shall be placed at the entire disposal of China.

"At present the Military Headquarters in the railway region are given the authority to control the operation of the Hokeou-Kunming section of the railway but, so far, there has not been any change of railway personnel from the Traffic Manager downward."

### FRANCO-JAPANESE AGREEMENT

Following the signing of the Franco-Japanese agreement at Hanoi on September 22, 1940, the Foreign Office lodged a most vigorous protest with the French authorities.

The protest, after reasserting China's right to take such measures of self-defense as may be deemed necessary, declares that the French Government will be held responsible for all losses and consequences which may arise therefrom.

### SURRENDER OF FRENCH TOWN COURTS

On November 7, 1940, an agreement was signed between the Japanese and French autho-

rities in Shanghai whereby the Chinese courts in the French Concession were to be taken over by the "Nanking Government." The Chinese Government, in a strong protest with the French Government, charged the latter of having violated the Court Agreement signed on July 28, 1931. Meanwhile, it ordered the Second Shanghai Special District Court and the Third Branch of the Kiangsu Higher Court in the French Concession to suspend temporarily their activities.

The spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued the following statement on November 8, 1940:

"The French Embassy informed this Ministry that the Municipal authorities of the French Concession in Shanghai had entered into an agreement with the Nanking puppet regime on November 7, permitting the latter to take over the Chinese Courts in the Concession, and that these courts had been handed over this morning.

"The Chinese Government has repeatedly made it clear to the French authorities that the seizure by the Japanese and their puppets of the Chinese Courts in the French Concession would not only endanger the life and property of the Chinese residents under their jurisdiction but jeopardize all foreign rights and interests as well. More than once the French authorities have been asked to reject the demands of the Japanese and their puppets, and the attention of the French authorities has been called to their grave responsibility in this matter. Unfortunately they have now yielded to Japanese pressure, and in total disregard of the Agreement of July 28, 1931, relating to the establishment of the Chinese Courts in the French Concession at Shanghai, has handed over the said Courts to the Japanese and their puppets. Against this unjustified action on the part of the French authorities this Ministry has lodged a vigorous protest with the French Embassy.

"In the circumstances described above, the Chinese Government has been constrained to order the Third Branch of the Kiangsu High Court and the Second Shanghai Special District Court to suspend the exercise of their functions in the French Concession. Hereafter any organs that may style themselves as Chinese Courts in the French Concession will be regarded as illegal, and all decisions and any other acts of such organs shall have no validity. The French Government should be held fully responsible for all the consequences for its action in this matter."

### FRENCH CAPITULATION IN INDO-CHINA

Dr. Quo Tai-chi, Minister of Foreign Affairs, issued the following statement on July 28, 1941 following the French capitulation in Indo-China:

"The Japanese Government has once again obtained by coercion from the French Government new military, naval and air bases in southern



Indo-China. This fresh move marks an extension of Japan's movement of conquest in that country and a further step in her southward drive. Henceforth the entire area of Indo-China cannot but be regarded as virtually under the military occupation of Japan.

"This development not only constitutes an increasing menace to China's southwestern border provinces but puts in jeopardy the rights, interests and possessions in West Pacific of all other Powers. For this reason the matter is of as much concern to these Powers as it is to China.

"The Chinese Government will for its part, continue resolutely to pursue its fixed policy of resistance to aggression and do what lies in its power to prevent Japan's adventure from becoming a success. And it is the firm belief of the Chinese Government and people that the other interested Powers will not allow unchecked this Japanese attempt to spread aggression until it may be too late or costly to stop it."

#### VIOLATION OF CHINESE BORDER

It was announced on August 28, 1941 that the Foreign Office had lodged a strong protest with the French Embassy against the violation of China's border by the French troops from Indo-China, demanding an immediate withdrawal of such troops, guarantee against similar incident in the future as well as the right to claim indemnity for the losses sustained.

The aforementioned French troops, numbering more than 100, attacked Shangyi, in the vicinity of Tungchung within the Kwangtung border, on August 4, when a large number of Chinese peasants were killed and wounded and numerous farm houses destroyed. The French also destroyed the road linking Shangyi and Lingsze, while strengthening their occupation force at Shangyi, thus showing signs of further attempt on Tungchung.

#### ENEMY OCCUPATION OF KWANGCHOW-WAN

Following the announcement made by the Japanese military authorities that Japanese armed forces entered Kwangchow-wan, French Leased Territory, on February 22, 1943, after having reached a complete understanding with the French authorities, the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs on February 24, handed a note to the Charge d'Affaires of the French Embassy in Chungking regarding this issue.

The note calls the attention of the French authorities to the fact that Kwangchow-wan is an integral part of China as Article I of the Sino-French Treaty of November 16, 1899, expressly provides that China's sovereignty over the Leased Territory shall not be affected by the lease.

The note also notifies the French authorities that the Chinese Government reserves its freedom of action to adopt such measures as it may deem necessary and proper in order to protect its territorial sovereignty and its rights to claim compensation from the French Government for damages.

The text of the note is as follows:

Ministry of Foreign Affairs,  
Chungking.  
February 24, 1943.

Monsieur le Charge d'Affaires:

I have the honor to draw your attention to the fact that it has come to the knowledge of the Chinese Government that the Japanese armed forces occupied the Leased Territory of Kwangchow-wan on February 17, 1943. According to an announcement issued by the Japanese military headquarters on February 22, 1943, the Japanese armed forces entered the said Territory on the same day after having reached a complete understanding with the French authorities.

Kwangchow-wan is an integral part of the Republic of China. Article I of the Treaty of November 16, 1899, expressly provides that China's sovereignty over the Leased Territory shall not be affected by the lease. Accordingly, the French Government has not the right to permit on its own part, without the consent of the Chinese Government, the occupation or use of the said Territory by a third country, much less by a country with which China is at war.

Irrespective of whether or not the occupation of the said Territory was effected by previous agreement or understanding between the French authorities and the Japanese authorities, it is a fact that, when the said Territory was occupied by the armed forces of the Japanese Army and Navy, no resistance was offered by the French authorities. And the French Government, did not, either before or after the occupation, inform the Chinese Government of the circumstances attendant upon the occupation.

The Treaty of 1899 granting the lease having thus been rendered null and void, the Chinese Government hereby solemnly notifies the French Government that it reserves its freedom of action to adopt such measures as it may deem necessary and proper in order to protect its territorial sovereignty and that it likewise reserves its rights to claim compensation from the French Government for damages.

Accept, Monsieur le Charge d'Affaires, the assurances of my high consideration.

(Signed) Tse-vung Soong.

After making public the note which the Ministry of Foreign Affairs addressed to the

French Charge d'Affaires on the subject of the occupation of Kwangchow-wan by Japanese armed forces, the spokesman of the Foreign Office declares that inasmuch as the said treaty has been violated by France in permitting the enemy of China to occupy that territory, over which China's sovereignty has been expressly reserved, China is no longer bound by that instrument.

A Tokyo broadcast quoting a report from Siying in the Luichow Peninsula states that an agreement for Franco-Japanese joint defense of Kwangchow-wan was formally signed on February 21, 1943, between Pierre Marie Jean Domec, chief administrator of the French Leased Territory of Kwangchow-wan, and the Japanese authorities.

#### CHINESE PROTEST ON TRANSFER OF CONCESSIONS

According to reliable information received in Chungking, the Vichy Government and the puppet Nanking organization entered into an agreement on May 18, 1943, for the transfer to the latter of the French concessions in Tientsin, Hankow, and Canton. Previously in the latter part of March, 1943, the Vichy Government had surrendered to the puppet Nanking organization its rights in connection with the Legation Quarter at Peiping and in the International Settlements at Shanghai and Amoy.

On May 19, 1943, Dr. K. C. Wi, Political Vice-Minister in Charge of Ministerial Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, requested M. Paul Boncour of the French Embassy to call at the Ministry and handed to him in person a note of protest, in which it was pointed out that this action on the part of the Vichy Government constituted a violation of international law and that the provisions of the treaties and agreements granting to France extraterritorial and related rights, concessions and the rights in connection with the Legation Quarter at Peiping and in the International Settlements at Shanghai and Amoy, are no longer binding on China as a result of the illegal act. The text of the note of protest of the Chinese Government is as follows:

#### CHINA'S RELATIONS WITH THE U.S.S.R. THE SINO-SOVIET NON-AGGRESSION TREATY

The National Government of the Republic of China and the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, animated by the desire to contribute to the maintenance of general peace, to consolidate the amicable relations now existing between them on a firm and lasting basis, and to confirm in a more precise manner the obligations mutually undertaken under the Treaty for the Renunciation of War signed in Paris on August 27, 1928, have resolved to conclude the present Treaty, and have for this

"Under instruction of the National Government, I have the honor to call your attention to the report that a delegate of your Government has signed agreements with the puppet Nanking regime at Nanking for the purpose of transferring to the latter the rights of France in connection with the Legation Quarter in Peiping and in the International Settlements at Shanghai and Amoy as well as the French concessions at Tientin, Hankow and Canton.

"It will be recalled that the National Government has officially notified all foreign countries that the National Government is the only Government of the Republic of China, and that the present illegal organization at Nanking is but a puppet in the area under Japanese military occupation. The National Government has, moreover, on many occasions solemnly declared that whatever agreements entered into by the puppet organizations with any country shall be considered null and void.

"Furthermore, the Ministry has repeatedly warned your Embassy against the transfer of the French concessions and other rights to the puppet regime at Nanking. Notwithstanding, the representative of your country has concluded agreements with the bogus regime for the so-called transfer of administrative rights and the rendition of concessions. This action on the part of the Vichy Government must therefore be considered as a violation of international law.

"The Chinese Government is constrained to lodge the most emphatic protest against this action on the part of the Vichy Government. While reserving all the rights, it hereby solemnly declares that the provisions of the treaties and agreements granting to France extraterritorial and related rights, concessions and the rights in connection with the Legation Quarter at Peiping and in the International Settlements at Shanghai and Amoy, are no longer binding on China as a result of the illegal act of the Vichy Government.

"I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to you the assurance of my high consideration."

(Signed) K. C. Wu.

purpose appointed as their Plenipotentiaries, that is to say:—

His Excellency the President of the National Government of the Republic of China: Dr. Wang Chung-hui, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

The Central Executive Committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics: Mr. Dimitri Bogomoloff, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to the Republic of China.

Who, having communicated their full powers found in good and due form, have agreed upon the following Articles:—

Article 1.—The two High Contracting Parties solemnly reaffirm that they condemn recourse to war for the solution of international controversies, and that they renounce it as an instrument of national policy in their relations with each other, and in pursuance of this pledge they undertake to refrain from any aggression against each other individually, or jointly with one or more other Powers.

Article 2.—In the event that either of the High Contracting Parties should be subjected to aggression on the part of one or more third Powers, the other High Contracting Party obligates itself not to render assistance of any kind, directly or indirectly, to such third Power or Powers at any time during the entire conflict, and also to refrain from taking any action or entering into any agreement, which may be used by the aggressor or aggressors to the disadvantage of the Party subjected to aggression.

Article 3.—The provisions of the present Treaty shall not be so interpreted as to affect or modify the rights and obligations arising in respect of the High Contracting Parties out of bilateral or multilateral treaties or agreements of which both High Contracting Parties are signatories, and which were concluded prior to the entering into force of the present Treaty.

Article 4.—The present Treaty is drawn up in duplicate in English. It comes into force on the day of signature by the above-mentioned Plenipotentiaries, and shall remain in force for a period of five years. Either of the High Contracting Parties may notify the other six months before the expiration of the period of its desire to terminate the Treaty. In case both Parties fail to do so in time, the Treaty shall be considered as being automatically extended for a period of two years after the expiration of the first period. Should neither of the High Contracting Parties notify the other six months before the expiration of the two-year period of its desire to terminate the Treaty, it

shall continue in force for another period of two years, and so on, successively.

In witness whereof, the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Treaty, and have affixed thereunto their Seals.

Done at Nanking, the twenty-first day of August, 1937.

#### SINO-SOVIET COMMERCIAL TREATY

A Sino-Soviet commercial treaty was signed at Moscow on June 16, 1939, by Sun Foo, special envoy of the Chinese Government and Anastase Ivanovitch Mikoyan, Soviet Commissar of Foreign Trade. In addition to articles regulating commerce and navigation between the two countries, the treaty also defines the legal status of Soviet commercial bureaus in China.

#### CHINESE STATEMENT ON

##### SOVIET-JAPANESE DECLARATION

On April 14, 1941, Dr. Wang Chung-hui, Minister of Foreign Affairs, issued the following statement concerning the joint declaration made by the U.S.S.R. and Japan at the time of the conclusion of the neutrality pact on April 13:\*

"At the time of the signature of the neutrality pact on April 13, the U.S.S.R. and Japan issued a joint declaration in which Japan undertook to respect the territorial integrity and inviolability of the so-called 'People's Republic of Mongolia' and the Soviet Union undertook to respect the territorial integrity and inviolability of the so-called 'Manchukuo'."

"It is an indisputable fact that the four Northeastern Provinces and Outer Mongolia are an integral part of the Republic of China and always remain Chinese territory."

"The Chinese Government and people cannot recognize any engagements entered into between third parties which are derogatory to China's territorial and administrative integrity, and wish to state that the Soviet-Japanese declaration just announced has no binding force whatsoever on China."

\*The Soviet Union and Japan signed today a pact of neutrality and made a declaration on mutual respect for the territorial integrity and inviolability of the frontiers of the 'Mongolian People's Republic' and 'Manchoukuo' on April 13, 1941.

The text of the Pact follows:

"Article 1. Both of the contracting parties undertake to maintain peaceful and friendly relations between them and mutually respect the territorial integrity and inviolability of the other contracting party."

"Article 2. Should one of the contracting parties become the object of hostilities on the part of one or several of the third powers the other contracting party will observe neutrality throughout the duration of the conflict."

"Article 3. The present Pact comes into force from the day of its ratification by both contracting parties and remains valid for five years. In case neither of the contracting parties denounces the Pact one year before the expiration of the term, it will be considered automatically prolonged for the next five years."

"Article 4. The present Pact is subject to ratification as soon as possible. The instruments of ratification shall be exchanged in Tokyo also as soon as possible."

The Declaration reads as follows:

"In conformity with the spirit of the Neutrality Pact concluded on April 13th of 1941 between the USSR and Japan, the Governments of the USSR and Japan in the interests of ensuring peaceful and friendly relations between the two countries solemnly declare that the USSR pledges to respect the territorial integrity and inviolability of the 'Manchukuo' and Japan pledges to respect the territorial integrity and inviolability of the 'Mongolian People's Republic.' Moscow April 13, 1941."

## CHINA'S RELATIONS WITH CZECHOSLOVAKIA, THE NETHERLANDS, NORWAY, POLAND, THE VATICAN AND LIBERIA

### CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Following the recognition of the new government of Czechoslovakia under President Benes in London by Great Britain and the United States, the Chinese Government, as an expression of goodwill and sympathy, also decided to recognize the Czechoslovakia Government under President Benes.

On August 26, 1941, Foreign Minister Dr. Quo Tai-chi formally informed the Czechoslovak Foreign Minister, Dr. Masaryk, of this decision, adding that Mr. Wunsz King, Chinese Minister to the Netherlands, had been accredited to the Czechoslovak Government concurrently as China's diplomatic representative.

The new Czechoslovak Minister to China, M. Stanislav Minovsky, presented his letters of credence to Mr. Lin Sen, Chairman of the National Government, on April 15, 1942.

On August 12, 1942, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek received in audience Mr. Minovsky, who on behalf of President Benes of the Czechoslovak Republic, conferred on the former the "Croix de Guerre" of Czechoslovakia.

### THE NETHERLANDS

The Netherlands Minister to China, Baron Casper van Breugel Douglas, presented his letters of credence to Mr. Lin Sen, Chairman of the National Government, on January 8, 1942.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs on February 15, 1943, announced the joint decision of the Chinese Government and the Netherlands Government to elevate the status of their respective diplomatic representatives to ambassadorship. The announcement reads:

"The Netherlands Government and the Chinese Government have decided to raise the status of their respective envoys to that of the ambassador. Accordingly, the Chinese Government have appointed Mr. Chin Wen-tze (Wunsz King), at present Chinese Minister to the Netherlands Government, as the first Chinese Ambassador to Her Majesty Queen Wilhelmina's Court, and the Queen has designated Mr. A. H. J. Lovink, at present Secretary-General of the Ministry of the Coordination of Warfare, as the first Netherlands Ambassador to the Chinese Republic."

Baron van Breugel Douglas left Chungking on February 17 for Calcutta en route to his new post as Netherlands Ambassador to the Soviet Union. The first Netherlands Ambassador to China, Mr. Lovink, arrived in Chungking in April, 1943.

### NORWAY

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs announced on October 14, 1942, that the Norwegian Government in London has appointed a new Norwegian Minister to China in the person of A. L. F. Hassel, who was Norwegian Minister in Bangkok

before Thailand came under Japanese influence. Before the Pacific war Norway was represented by N. T. Knudtzon, Charge d'Affairs of the Norwegian Legation in China.

Mr. Hassel arrived in Chungking on December 11, 1942, and presented his credentials to Mr. Lin Sen, Chairman of the National Government, on December 23, 1942.

### POLAND

The following announcement regarding the resumption of diplomatic relations between China and Poland was made by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on February 24, 1942:

"As a result of recent negotiations between Dr. Wellington Koo, Chinese Ambassador to London, and the Polish Government there, the two countries will resume diplomatic relations and exchange diplomatic representatives in the near future. The Polish Government also formally announced the withdrawal of its recognition of the puppet state of 'Manchukuo'."

"In a note to Ambassador Koo, the Polish Foreign Minister advised that a state of war had existed between Poland and Japan since December 11, 1941, and that the Polish Government had withdrawn the recognition it extended to 'Manchukuo' in 1938. The Polish Government warmly welcomed the exchange of diplomatic representatives between China and Poland."

"In another letter the Polish Foreign Minister conveyed on behalf of the Polish Government respect for China's successful war against aggression as well as gratification at the early resumption of diplomatic relations between China and Poland."

Shortly after the resumption of diplomatic relations between the two countries early in 1942, the Chinese Government named Mr. Wunsz King as concurrently Chinese Charge d'Affairs to the Polish Government in London.

Count Alfred Poninski, the first Polish Ambassador to China, presented his letters of credence to Mr. Lin Sen, Chairman of the National Government, on March 4, 1943.

China and Poland decided to elevate the rank of their respective diplomatic representatives to that of an ambassador, in June 1942.

### THE VATICAN

Dr. Cheou-Kang Sie, Chinese Charge d'Affairs at Berne, was appointed first Chinese Minister to the Vatican, in June 1942.

### LIBERIA

China and the Republic of Liberia concluded a treaty of amity on December 11, 1937. The treaty was signed on behalf of China by Dr. V. K. Wellington Koo, then Chinese Ambassador to France, and on behalf of the Republic of



Liberia, by M. le Baron de Bogaerdt, Liberian Minister to France. The treaty has five articles, providing for the maintenance of inviolable peace and sincere and perpetual friendship between the two States; and for the reciprocal dispatch of diplomatic representatives and

## CHINA'S RELATIONS WITH NEAR EASTERN COUNTRIES

### ARABIA

Efforts for the establishment of relations with Arabia were first made by China in 1936 when the Foreign Office instructed Dr. W. W. Yen, then Chinese Ambassador in Moscow, to exchange opinions with the Arabian Minister to the U.S.S.R. Later the Arabian Government was said to have favorably responded to the move. It was not, however, until late in 1939 that China appointed her first consul to Jidda, important seaport of Arabia on the eastern bank of the Red Sea.

China stations her consul to Arabia in Jidda because of the international importance of that city where are stationed the consular officials of all other foreign countries. Delegates from all parts of the Moslem world who go to Mecca to attend the annual Hajj conference land at this seaport 100 miles from the Holy City, to make their preliminary arrangements. Chinese pilgrims to Mecca numbered more than 7,000 in 1938.

### EGYPT

Dr. Lin Tung-hai, senior counsellor of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, was appointed the first Chinese Minister to Egypt on May 19, 1942, but before he left for his post he fell ill and resigned.

Dr. Tang Wu, first secretary of the Chinese legation at Cairo, was appointed Charge d'Affaires of the legation on July 9, 1942, pending the appointment of a new minister.

### IRAN

The Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs was first reported to be seeking diplomatic relations with Iran on December 29, 1940. Mr. Lin Sen, Chairman of the National Government, sent a telegram congratulating the new king of Iran on the latter's enthronement on September 16, 1941. In the telegram, the Chinese Chief Executive expressed his desire to have diplomatic relations with Iran. The Iran king replied

## CHINA'S RELATIONS WITH LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES

### BRAZIL

Tan Shao-hwa, Chinese minister to Brazil, presented his credentials on June 17, 1941. He was authorized by the Executive Yuan on June 2, 1942, to negotiate and conclude with the Brazilian government a treaty of amity and commerce between China and Brazil. On May 4, 1943, it was announced in Chungking that the Chinese and Brazilian governments had

consular officers. The two Contracting Parties also agree to regulate, by special convention, their relations concerning commerce and navigation as well as the conditions for the residence and sojourn of the nationals of either Party in the territory of the other.

favorably. The Sino-Iranian treaty of amity was concluded in 1942.

Li Tieh-tseng was appointed the first Minister to Iran on May 5, 1942. He arrived in Teheran on June 20, and presented his credentials on June 29.

### IRAQ

The Sino-Iraqi Treaty of Amity, which was concluded in Bagdad on March 16, 1942, between Dr. P. C. Chang, former Chinese Minister to Turkey, and the Iraqi authorities, was ratified by the Iraqi parliament on May 28, 1942, and by the National Government on July 18, 1942.

The treaty provides for permanent friendship between Iraq and China and the establishment diplomatic relations between the two countries.

The exchange of ratifications of the Sino-Iraqi Treaty of Amity took place in the Chinese Legation at Ankara on February 6, 1943.

### TURKEY

Turkey was the first among Near Eastern countries to exchange diplomatic representatives with China. Sino-Turkish diplomatic relations date back to 1935 when Turkey was represented by a Charge d'Affaires in Nanking. General Ho Yao-tsu, China's first minister to Turkey, presented his credentials at Ankara on May 19, 1935. Dr. P. C. Chang, China's second minister to Turkey, presented his credentials at Ankara on October 11, 1940.

The appointment of Tsou Shang-yu, Director of the Western Asiatic Department in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as the new Chinese Minister to Ankara, was announced on May 26, 1942.

After the outbreak of the Pacific War, Emin Ai Sipahi, the first Turkish Minister to China, who happened to be in Shanghai, was unable to return to Chungking. The Turkish Government appointed Mennan Tabelen to be Charge d'Affaires in Chungking.

agreed to elevate the status of their diplomatic representatives to that of ambassador.

### CHILE

Dr. P. C. Chang, new Chinese Minister to Chile, presented his credentials to the Chilean President on July 30, 1942.

### CUBA

A treaty of friendship between China and Cuba was concluded in Havana on November 12,

1942, after eight months of protracted negotiations. Dr. T. T. Li, Chinese Minister to Cuba, signed on behalf of the Chinese Government and Dr. Jose Martinez, Cuban Foreign Minister, signed for the Cuban Government.

The treaty consists of ten articles and two notes. It provides, among other things, equal and reciprocal treatment by both contracting parties of nationals of the one entering, leaving and residing in the territory of the other. By virtue of this provision, Cuba becomes the first American nation to remove the immigration restrictions against Chinese and to accord Chinese resident nationals the same and equal rights as those accorded other nationals.

Another stipulation is the declaration of the firm determination of China "to work in close and friendly collaboration for the establishment and maintenance of world peace based on the principles of justice and promotion of economic prosperity of both peoples."

### DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

The Chinese Government, through Dr. T. T. Li, Chinese Minister to Cuba, concluded on May 11, 1940, at the Dominican capital, a Treaty of Amity with the Dominican Republic, which appointed as its plenipotentiary, Foreign Secretary Licenciado Arturo Despradel. The treaty was ratified by the Chinese Government on November 14 the same year.

A solemn ceremony for the exchange of ratifications was observed at the Chinese Legation, Havana, on December, 1941, from which date the treaty went into effect.

## CHINA'S RELATIONS WITH GERMANY AND ITALY

### CHINESE PROTEST TO GERMANY ON "MANCHUKUO" ISSUE

On February 24, 1938, Dr. Wang Chung-hui, Chinese Minister of Foreign Affairs, sent a strong protest to the German Ambassador Dr. Oscar Trautmann in Hankow. Simultaneously the protest was cabled to the Chinese embassy in Berlin for presentation to the German Foreign Office. The protest reads as follows:

The Chinese Government feels deep regret at hearing that the German Government has chosen to recognize the bogus organization in the four Northeastern provinces of the Republic of China known under the appellation of "Manchukuo."

It need scarcely be pointed out that the unlawful regime was born of Japanese aggression and is being controlled and maintained by Japanese militarists.

Practically all the nations of the world have steadfastly adhered to the principle of non-recognition in respect of the puppet organization and the fact that it was brought into existence entirely by the military force of Japan was

The treaty, consisting of eight articles, provides for the maintenance of perpetual peace and everlasting amity between the Republic of China and the Dominican Republic as well as between their peoples; for the right reciprocally to send duly accredited diplomatic representatives and consular officers; for the protection of the nationals of each of the High Contracting Parties residing in the territory of the other as regards their persons and property, the latter having the right to travel, reside, work and engage in industries and trade in all the localities where the nationals of any other country might do the same, and also having the liberty to establish schools for the education of their children, and enjoying the liberty of assembly and association, of publication, of worship and religion, of burial and of building cemeteries, in accordance with the laws and regulations of the country. The High Contracting Parties also agree to conclude as soon as possible a Treaty of Commerce and Navigation.

### MEXICO

Chen Tien-ku, Chinese minister to Mexico, presented his credentials on June 16, 1941.

### PANAMA

Tu Yun-tan was appointed new Chinese Minister to Panama on April 21, 1942. He presented his credentials on September 17, 1942.

### SALVADOR

The Government of Salvador announced on January 27, 1943, the withdrawal of its previous recognition of the puppet state of 'Manchukuo.'

formerly admitted by Germany herself as well as by the rest of the world.

The action of the German Government, as just announced is all the more disappointing and surprising to the Chinese people in view of the cordial relations heretofore existing between China and Germany.

The Chinese people have watched the growth and development of Germany with interest and understanding, and naturally expect that conditions and events in China would be viewed with similar sympathetic feelings.

Unfortunately, it seems that the German Government has misunderstood or misinterpreted the painful events that are taking place in this part of the world and, in giving undue emphasis to "accomplished facts," has failed to see them in their true perspective.

Recognition of what are believed to be the real facts without considering the circumstances under which they have been brought about, as well as the rights of the party or parties chiefly concerned, tends to disturb the proper and ordinary conduct of international relations.

In view of the foregoing observations, the Chinese Government deems it necessary to protest against the action of the German Government in according recognition to an organization that has been unlawfully made to exist on the territory of the Republic of China.

#### DR. WANG'S STATEMENT ON JAPAN-AXIS ALLIANCE

In response to inquiries of Chinese and foreign pressmen concerning China's attitude toward the Japanese-German-Italian alliance,\* Dr. Wang Chung-hui Minister of Foreign Affairs, made the following statement on September 30, 1940:

"Japan, Germany and Italy signed on September 27 an alliance pact in Berlin whereby Japan recognizes German and Italian leadership in the establishment of a 'New Order in Europe,' and Germany and Italy recognize Japanese leadership in the construction of a so-called 'New Order in Greater East Asia.' The pact entirely ignores and obviously attempts to destroy the legitimate positions, rights and interests of other European and Asiatic countries as well as the legitimate positions, rights and interests of non-European and non-Asiatic powers in Europe and Asia.

"The consistent policy of the Chinese Government has been to maintain international law and order, in which all the nations of the world can live on terms of equality and amity. Any attempt at aggression and violation of the legally constituted world order under the pretext of establishing a 'new order' will be firmly opposed by the Chinese Government in accordance with its traditional policy.

"The Chinese Government and people are firmly resolved to continue their struggle for the maintenance of world order. The Chinese Government will never recognize the so-called 'New Order in Greater East Asia,' especially Japan's so-called leadership in East Asia. It goes without saying that any pact or agreement signed between third powers will not in anywise affect the legal position, rights and interests of China, or the attitude and policy of the Chinese Government."

#### SEVERANCE OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH GERMANY AND ITALY

On July 2, 1941, Dr. Quo Tai-chi, Minister of Foreign Affairs, announced China's severance of her diplomatic relations with Germany and Italy. His official statement reads as follows:

"The recognition of the puppet regime at Nanking by the German and Italian Governments amounts to the extension of their aggressive policy to the Far East and proves beyond doubt that these countries have unreservedly cast in their lot with China's enemy. Knowing as they do that the Nanking puppet regime is but a creature of the Japanese militarists, the Nazi Government of Germany and the Fascist Government of Italy, in according recognition thereto, have committed a gross injustice to China and have thereby forfeited all claim to the friendship of the Chinese Government and people.

"The step thus taken by these Axis Powers has made it abundantly clear that the forces of aggression have been further consolidated into one bloc bent on the destruction of human freedom and civilization. It is, however, grati-

#### \* THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE.

On September 27, 1940, Japan signed a military and economic alliance with Germany and Italy in Berlin. The text of the alliance reads as follows:

The Governments of Germany, Italy and Japan, considering it as a condition precedent of any lasting peace that all nations of the world be given each its own proper place, have decided to stand together and cooperate with each other in regard to their efforts in Greater East Asia and regions of Europe, respectively, in which it is the prime purpose to establish and maintain a new order of things calculated to promote mutual prosperity and the welfare of the peoples concerned.

Furthermore, it is the desire of the three governments to extend cooperation to such nations in other spheres of the world as may be inclined to put forth endeavor along lines similar to their own, in order that their ultimate aspirations for world peace may thus be realized.

Accordingly the Governments of Germany, Italy and Japan have agreed as follows:

Article 1: Japan recognizes and respects the leadership of Germany and Italy in the establishment of a new order in Europe.

Article 2: Germany and Italy recognize and respect the leadership of Japan in the establishment of a new order in Greater East Asia.

Article 3: Germany, Italy and Japan agree to cooperate in their efforts on the aforesaid lines. They further undertake to assist one another with all political, economic and military means when one of the three contracting Powers is attacked by a Power at present not involved in the European War or the Sino-Japanese conflict.

Article 4: With a view to implementing the present pact, joint technical commissions, the members of which are to be appointed by the respective Governments of Germany, Italy and Japan, will meet without delay.

Article 5: Germany, Italy and Japan affirm that the aforesaid terms do not in any way affect the political status which exist at present as between each of the three contracting parties and Soviet Russia.

Article 6: The present pact shall come into effect immediately upon signature and shall remain in force for ten years from the date of its coming into effect.

At the proper time before the expiration of the said term, the high contracting parties shall at the request of any of them enter into negotiations for its renewal.

In faith whereof, the undersigned, duly authorized by their respective governments, have signed this pact and have affixed their seals.

Done in triplicate at Berlin the 27th day of September, 1940, in the eighteenth year of the Fascist era corresponding to the 27th day of the ninth month of the fifteenth year of Showa.

fyng to note that these evil forces are being heroically and resolutely opposed and resisted by a group of Powers who, having steadily increased in number and in strength, are drawn ever closer by their love of peace and freedom in face of the common menace. China is proud of her record and role in this anti-aggression crusade. Despite unprecedented difficulties, China has consistently observed good-faith in all her international dealings. China is determined to continue the struggle in close cooperation with her friends till our common cause is vindicated.

"In pursuance of the official declarations repeatedly made on previous occasions, the Chinese Government now declares that China's diplomatic relations with Germany and Italy are hereby severed."

Copies of the statement were delivered to the German and Italian Embassies in Chungking through Dr. Lin Chi-han, senior secretary of the Foreign Office, who also brought with him to the German and Italian Embassies the passports for the members of the two embassies. The notes were handed to Dr. Heinrich North, secretary of the German Embassy, and to Signor Pier Pasquale Spinelli, first secretary of the Italian Embassy.

Members of the Italian Embassy left Chungking on July 15 while those of the German Embassy left on July 25. They went to Japanese-dominated French Indo-China via Kwangsi.

The Foreign Office wired Ambassador Chen Chieh in Berlin and Charge d'Affairs Hsu Tao-lin in Rome on July 1, 1941, instructing them and the Chinese diplomatic representatives in Germany and Italy to return to China. Ambassador Chen left Berlin on July 10, and went to the United States via Lisbon.

#### CHINA'S RELATIONS WITH DENMARK, RUMANIA, AND THAILAND

##### SEVERANCE OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH DENMARK AND RUMANIA

With reference to Denmark's recognition of the puppet regimes in Nanking and in the Four Northeastern Provinces, Foreign Minister Dr. Quo Tai-chi issued the following statement on August 20, 1941:

"Following in the footsteps, and presumably under the pressure of Germany and her partners, Denmark has recognized the puppet regimes in Nanking and in the Four Northeastern Provinces. In taking this unjustified step, Denmark has not, it is highly to be regretted, hesitated to forfeit her friendship of long standing with China. The Chinese Government, in line with its fixed policy, thereby declares that the diplomatic relations between this country and Denmark are forthwith severed."

##### CHINA'S DECLARATION OF WAR ON GERMANY AND ITALY

As from midnight of December 9, 1941 a state of war exists between China and Germany and between China and Italy, announced Dr. Quo Tai-chi, Minister of Foreign Affairs, the same evening. Dr. Quo read the following statement:

"Since the conclusion of the Tripartite Pact of September, 1940, Germany, Italy and Japan have unmistakably banded themselves into a bloc of aggressor States working closely together to carry out their common program of world conquest and domination. To demonstrate their solidarity, Germany and Italy successively accorded recognition to Japan's puppet regimes in the Northeast China and at Nanking. As a consequence, China severed her diplomatic relations with Germany and Italy last July.

"Now, the Axis Powers have extended the theater of their aggressive activities and thrown the whole Pacific region into turmoil, making themselves the enemy of international justice and world civilization. This state of affairs can no longer be tolerated by the Chinese Government and people.

"The Chinese Government hereby declares that as from midnight, December, 9, 1941, a state of war exists between China and Germany and between China and Italy. The Chinese Government further declares that all treaties, conventions, agreements and contracts concerning the relations between China and Germany and between China and Italy are and remain null and void."

China severed diplomatic relations with Rumania which, following the steps of Germany and Italy, accorded recognition to the Wang Ching-wei puppet regime on July 1, 1941, it was announced on July 10, 1941. Instructions were sent to Minister Lone Liang to return from Bucharest to China immediately.

##### CHINA'S ISSUES WITH THAILAND

In December, 1939, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek wired to the premier of the Thai Government on the subject of protection of Chinese nationals in Thailand. The Thai premier replied in a favorable tone.

On August 1, 1941, the Thai Government, apparently under the Japanese coercion, recognized the puppet state of "Manchukuo."

On July 7, 1942, the Thai Government, having capitulated to the Japanese in December, 1941, recognized the puppet regime at Nanking.



The Chinese Government did not pay much importance to either of the two Thai moves because it believed that the Thai Government, in according recognition to the two puppet regimes in China was not freely exercising its own will.

#### GENERALISSIMO'S MESSAGE TO THAILAND ON FEBRUARY 26, 1943

Soldiers and citizens of Thailand: Since December 11, 1941, when Thailand signed an agreement of alliance with Japan, I have held my peace toward you. I should have spoken sooner in view of the fact that Thailand, a close neighbor of ours, had thus entered into alliance with a country which is at war with China. I have, however, not spoken because I fully understood the difficult situation in which your country found itself at that time. I realized your difficulties then because I know that your circumstances were not unlike those China faced before we took up arms against the Japanese aggression in 1937.

But now the whole situation is different from what it was. The world-wide struggle is now gradually entering upon a decisive stage. Despite the increasing efforts of the Japanese militarists to oppress you and force you to fight for them, the Axis countries are being compelled, in Europe as well as in Asia, to pass from the offensive to the defensive and are suffering repeated defeats everywhere. The day for you to save your own country is drawing near while the practical condition under which you lived last year has now completely changed. I want, therefore, to speak to you in all frankness in order to help you appreciate China's feeling toward you, the fundamental principle that guides China's destiny and our war policy.

First, China's feeling toward Thailand. As a matter of historical fact, Sino-Thai relations have continued for more than 1,000 years. We have no fewer than 3,000,000 compatriots living within your borders. We have always considered Thailand a sister country of China. Every Chinese feels keenly the close ties and interdependence between China and Thailand. Every Chinese wishes Thailand peace and prosperity. The Chinese people have never allowed your actions in recent years to affect their traditional friendship toward Thailand. For the Chinese Government and people are wide awake to the nature of the Japanese-Thai alliance which, brought about by Japanese force, was no expression of the free will of the Thai soldiers and citizens themselves. I earnestly hope that the Thai army and people will note such Chinese friendship in its true perspective. I can assure you that China's friendship, thus respected by the Thai army and people, will never change.

Second, the fundamental principle that guides China's destiny: China's faith as a nation is based upon Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Three People's

Principles. All nations of the world should, according to the Three People's Principles, be free and equal. Such a faith, for which China stands, therefore calls for freedom and equality for all nations. It was with this faith that China signed with 25 other countries in Washington on January 1, 1942, a Joint Declaration, dedicated to the liberation of all the nations in captivity under Japan, Germany and other Axis countries in order that they may have political independence restored to them. I can, therefore, give my solemn word that China as well as her Allies have no territorial ambitions in Thailand and harbor no intentions of undermining her sovereignty and independence. This will continue to be true in the future as it has been in the past. The Thais, however, should recognize the fact that their territory is now practically under Japanese occupation, their people enslaved and their sovereignty and independence violated by the Japanese, while the territory and freedom of Thailand can only be restored to her through the victory of China and her Allies.

Third, China's war policy: With the armed forces and people of Thailand under the forcible subjugation of the Japanese, we consider Thailand, in our war policy, merely as enemy-occupied territory, not as an enemy country. It is, therefore, the Japanese war machine, not the army and people of Thailand, that we consider our objective. China and her Allies will deal crushing blows to the enemy once our offensive is launched. The Japanese in Thailand and the adjacent territories are to be expected, at the same time to do their worst in an attempt to postpone their fate. Under such war conditions, every day the Japanese are able to hold out in Thailand will inevitably result in increasing sacrifices for the innocent Thai people. The Thai army and people should, under such circumstances, oppose the Japanese forces through positive action while cooperating with the Chinese armies and fighting shoulder to shoulder with them to put the enemy out of China and Thailand as well. This is what all patriotic soldiers and citizens of Thailand should do for their own country, for East Asia and for the world in general. We are justified in expecting them to do so.

This world war is, in short, a struggle between the anti-aggression forces and the aggressors, between Right and Might, between Light and Darkness. While we deeply appreciate your difficult circumstances in the past, we earnestly expect you now to do your duty promptly for the salvation of your own country and the world at large. We hope you understand and value the brotherly feeling of the Chinese people for you. We hope you will regain, with loyal and courageous acts of patriotism, the international good faith your country once enjoyed, and achieve the right to speak for your country in the postwar family of nations.

## THE SHANGHAI MUNICIPAL COUNCIL

### THE 'LONE BATTALION' CASE

The following statement was made by the spokesman of the Foreign Office on August 19, 1939:

"It was reported by Reuter on August 17 that the Japanese press in Shanghai was working up an agitation for the handing over to the Japanese authorities of the Lone Battalion interned by the Shanghai Municipal Council and that the main ground for the demand was that the upkeep for the interned men had been falling on the Council ever since the National Government had failed to remit the necessary funds.

"That the Japanese claim is absolutely unfounded can best be shown by briefly recalling the actual facts of the case. According to information furnished by the British Embassy, the expenses incurred by the Shanghai Municipal Council for the maintenance of the 'Lone Battalion' up to the end of March last had amounted to \$43,000. The payment of this sum was ordered by the Ministry of Finance early in April. At about the same time, the Chinese Government undertook to reimburse the Shanghai Municipal Council for sustenance allowance to be further advanced by them.

"It can thus be clearly seen that the alleged failure of the Chinese Government to meet its financial obligations in this matter is sheer fabrication on the part of the Japanese. The Shanghai Municipal Council, having taken upon themselves the friendly duty of internment of the 'Lone Battalion' in the Settlement, is expected to give them continued protection in accordance with the usual practice and not to accede to the unreasonable demand for their surrender."

The Shanghai Municipal Council issued a statement on August 23, 1939, regarding the "Lone Battalion" according to a message from Shanghai.

When the "Lone Battalion" was interned by the Shanghai Municipal Council two years ago, the statement pointed out, the Consular Corps and the Japanese Consulate-General were communicated with to obtain their agreement on the matter. A favorable reply was later received from the Japanese Consulate-General.

At the meeting of the Consular Corps, the statement proceeded, the Japanese Consulate-General did not voice opposition to the action either.

On the false pretext that the Council is spending its money for the sustenance of the "Lone Battalion," the Japanese Ratepayers' Association

recently threatened that it would stop paying taxes to the Council. Such a threatening attitude on the part of the Japanese Ratepayers' Association, the Council declared in its statement, is really unreasonable. As a matter of fact, the statement further pointed out, the Chinese Government has always assumed full responsibility for the sustenance of the interned "Lone Battalion."

### SURRENDER OF TITLE DEEDS

The Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs handed vigorous protests to the diplomatic missions of the governments concerned on July 24, 1940, against the action of the Shanghai Municipal Council in handing over land title deeds of the Shanghai area to the Japanese controlled "special municipality." The protest declared the S. M. C. action illegal, since the deeds had been placed with that body for safe-keeping by the Municipal Government of Greater Shanghai. The S. M. C. therefore had no right to hand them over to any other authority, especially a puppet administration, and the Chinese Government declared the action null and void and reserved all rights in the matter.

### S.M.C. REORGANIZATION

Dr. Wang Chung-hui, Minister of Foreign Affairs, issued the following statement on April 19, 1941, concerning the establishment of the provisional council in the International Settlement at Shanghai:

"At a meeting held on April 17, the foreign ratepayers in the International Settlement at Shanghai adopted a Resolution, in accordance with which the present Municipal Council should be replaced by a 'Provisional Council' to be composed of sixteen members, namely, four Chinese, three British, three Americans, three Japanese, one German, one Swiss, and one Dutch.

"Prior to the adoption of this Resolution, the British and the United States Governments had been in touch with the Chinese Government and had endeavored to secure its consent to the suggested scheme. Throughout the negotiations that ensued, the Chinese Government, not unmindful of the difficulties confronting the authorities of the powers concerned in Shanghai, evinced its readiness to go as far out of its way as it could to help tide over the present situation. It was in this spirit of cooperation that the Chinese Government proposed that the Chinese members of the 'Provisional Council' should be chosen from among the Chinese Councillors, already lawfully elected by the Chinese Ratepayers' Association and the arrangement under contemplation should be limited to a short duration.

"These proposals, reasonable and conciliatory as they were, failed of acceptance by the governments concerned. The Chinese Government is therefore obliged not to associate itself with the plan embodied in the Resolution referred

### ABROGATION OF UNEQUAL TREATIES

#### END OF EXTRATERRITORIALITY

Prior to the first European War, 19 countries enjoyed extraterritoriality and consular jurisdiction in China under the terms of unequal treaties. They were Austria-Hungary, Belgium, Brazil, Denmark, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, Mexico, the Netherlands, Norway, Peru, Portugal, Russia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United States.

Germany and Austria-Hungary lost their extraterritorial rights in 1917 when China declared war on the Central Powers. In the Saint-Germain Treaty of September 10, 1919, Austria-Hungary declared the abolition of all treaties, conventions or other arrangements with which it had entered into with the allied and associated powers prior to the war. China, being a signatory of the Saint-Germain Treaty, was entitled to the benefit of this provision (Article 234). In the case of Germany, it was provided in the Sino-German agreement of May 20, 1921, that subjects of each of the contracting parties, when residing in the territory of the other party, would be placed under the jurisdiction of the local tribunals.

Following the Revolution of 1917, Russia had no diplomatic and consular representation in China. In view of the repeated renunciations by the Soviet Union of all imperialistic privileges of the former Czarist regime in China, the Chinese Government, by a presidential mandate dated September 23, 1920, suspended the Russian extraterritorial privileges and subjected all Russians in China to Chinese jurisdiction. When the Government of the U.S.S.R., was formally recognized by China and an agreement on general principles was concluded on May 31, 1924, the Soviet Government expressly agreed to relinquish extraterritorial rights.

In 1919 at the Paris Peace Conference the Chinese delegation tried to bring the question before the Powers but its proposals were set aside on the ground that the question of abolition of extraterritoriality did not come within the scope of the Peace Conference. Later China brought up the question at the Washington Conference on December 10, 1921, when the Powers assembled there adopted a resolution for the establishment of a commission "to inquire into the extraterritorial practice in

to above and desires it to be known that neither the setting up of the 'Provisional Council nor the modification of any clauses of the Land Regulations has received the approval of the Chinese Government."

China, and into the laws and the judicial system and the methods of judicial administration in China" with a view to the eventual relinquishment of extraterritorial rights in China. The commission was inaugurated in January, 1926, consisting of the representatives of the following 13 countries: Belgium, China, Denmark, France, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden and the United States. The commission submitted its report to the governments concerned in September the same year but no concrete steps were taken for the abolition of extraterritoriality and consular jurisdiction in China.

The National Government came into power in 1928. On April 27, 1929, Dr. C. T. Wang, Minister of Foreign Affairs, addressed notes to the American, Brazilian, British, Dutch, French and Norwegian envoys in China, urging the early abolition of extraterritoriality. On August 10, of the same year, the American, British, French and Dutch envoys replied in a sympathetic vein. Further notes were exchanged. To accelerate the matter, the National Government announced that beginning from January, 1930, nationals of foreign powers still enjoying extraterritorial privileges in China would be amenable to Chinese jurisdiction. On December 28, 1929, the National Government issued a mandate to the above effect.

The American and British governments proposed gradual relinquishment, while the National Government wanted immediate abolition. Thus, an impasse was reached. The various negotiations were officially summarized as follows:

1. Up to the end of 1930, the nationals of nine treaty Powers were amenable to Chinese jurisdiction, namely, the Soviet Union, Germany, Austria, Mexico, Finland, Persia, Greece, Bolivia, and Czechoslovakia.

2. Upon the coming into force of the Sino-Polish treaty concluded in September, 1929, the nationals of Poland would become amenable to Chinese jurisdiction.

3. In the case of Belgium, its nationals would be subject to Chinese jurisdiction as soon as a majority of the extraterritorial Powers have agreed to relinquish their extraterritorial rights.

4. In regard to Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Denmark, their nationals would be similarly obligated as soon as all signatories of the Washington Treaty had acceded thereto.

5. In the case of Sweden, Japan and Peru, negotiations were being conducted for the conclusion of new treaties to replace their time-expired predecessors.

6. In the case of Switzerland, its nationals would be subject to Chinese jurisdiction when all the treaty Powers have relinquished their extraterritorial rights.

7. The treaties with Great Britain, the United States, France, the Netherlands, Norway, and Brazil being still in force, the National Government had on its own accord declared the abolition of extraterritoriality as from January 1, 1930. Proposals concerning the detailed procedure for the execution thereof had been communicated to these governments, and negotiations to this end were being conducted.

8. An agreement for the reorganization of the former Provisional Court in the Shanghai International Settlement was signed in February, 1930, consisting of ten articles and one exchange of notes, and came into force two months later, as a temporary arrangement pending the abolition of extraterritoriality.

In regard to France, the official summary added, the reorganization of the Mixed Court in the Shanghai French Concession had also been pressed and a definite decision on the entire subject of extraterritoriality would probably be reached by the following spring.

On April 23, 1931, separate agreements were concluded with the Netherlands and Norway which looked forward to the abolition of extraterritoriality simultaneously with the other signatories of the Washington Treaty. On April 24, 1931, the National Government was informed by the Brazilian Government that it was ready to conclude a new treaty with China on the basis of equality.

On May 4, 1931, the National Government issued a mandate, promulgating a set of regulations of twelve articles which would govern the exercise of jurisdiction over foreign nationals in China as from January 1, 1932.

That summer there was a major flood along the Yangtze. On September 18, 1931, Japan started invading Manchuria. Both events occupied the primary attention of the National Government. The latter, therefore, issued another mandate on December 29, 1931, postponing indefinitely the enforcement of the above-mentioned regulations.

In February, 1937, upon the withdrawal of Spanish consular officials in China, the National Government resumed its jurisdiction over Spanish nationals in this country. After the war began in July, 1937, any Japanese nationals left in territory under Chinese rule were naturally placed under Chinese jurisdiction. In July, 1941, upon China's severance of her diplomatic relations with Germany, Italy, Rumania, and Denmark, the nationals of the last three countries have likewise come under Chinese jurisdiction, the Germans having lost their extraterritoriality at the end of the first European War.

On January 11, 1943, China concluded new treaties with the United States and Great Britain on a basis of equality and reciprocity. These treaties were ratified on May 20, 1943, and since then the nationals of these countries in China have become amenable to Chinese laws.

### RENDITION OF FOREIGN CONCESSIONS, SETTLEMENTS AND LEASED TERRITORIES

1. The British concessions at Hankow and Kiukiang were retroceded under the notes exchanged on February 19 and March 2, 1927, between Eugene Chen, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Owen O'Malley, counsellor of the British Legation.

2. The Belgian concession at Tientsin was retroceded under the terms of an agreement signed on August 31, 1929.

3. The British concession at Chinkiang was retroceded on November 15, 1929, in accordance with four sets of exchange of notes signed on October 31, 1929, between A. F. Aveling (acting counsellor of the British Legation) representing the British Minister, Sir Miles Lampson, and Dr. C. T. Wang, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

4. The return of the British concession at Amoy was provided for in the exchange of notes signed on September 17, 1930, between Dr. C. T. Wang and Sir Miles Lampson.

5. The territory and port of Weihaiwei, leased to Great Britain on July 1, 1898, was retroceded on October 1, 1930, in accordance with a new convention and agreement signed at Nanking on April 18, 1930.

6. The British concessions at Tientsin and Canton (now under Japanese military occupation) were legally retroceded to China on January 11, 1943, in accordance with the new Sino-British Treaty signed in Chungking on that date.

7. The International Settlements at Shanghai and Amoy (now under Japanese military occupation) were legally retroceded by Great Britain and the United States on January 11, 1943, in accordance with the new Sino-British and Sino-American treaties signed on that date in Chungking and Washington, respectively.



## RESUMPTION OF TARIFF AUTONOMY

Between July, 1928, and May, 1930, the National Government concluded new tariff

treaties with 13 countries. The following list gives the dates of signature of these treaties as well as the dates on which they came into effect:

TREATIES	Date of Signature	Date of Coming into Effect
1. Treaty Regulating Tariff Relations Between China and the United States	25-7-28	20-6-29
2. Sino-German Treaty	17-8-28	21-1-29
3. Treaty Regulating Tariff Relations Between China and Norway	12-11-28	1-3-29
4. Preliminary Treaty of Amity and Commerce Between China and Belgium	22-11-28	28-2-29
5. Preliminary Treaty of Amity and Commerce Between China and Italy	27-11-28	21-5-29
6. Preliminary Treaty of Amity and Commerce Between China and Denmark	12-12-28	8-6-29
7. Treaty Regulating Tariff Relations Between China and the Netherlands	19-12-28	18-11-30
8. Preliminary Treaty of Amity and Commerce Between China and Portugal	19-12-28	27-3-29
9. Tariff Autonomy Treaty Between China and Great Britain	20-12-28	1-2-29
10. Treaty Regulating Tariff Relations Between China and Sweden	20-12-28	27-3-29
11. Treaty Regulating Tariff Relations Between China and France	22-12-28	28-1-29
12. Preliminary Treaty of Amity and Commerce Between China and Spain	27-12-28	31-12-29
13. Treaty Regulating Tariff Relations Between China and Japan	6-5-30	16-5-30

## SINO-AMERICAN NEGOTIATIONS

Secretary of State Cordell Hull announced in Washington on May 31, 1941, that the United States would move for the relinquishment of her special extraterritorial rights in China when peace is restored there.

The State Department published the letters exchanged between Mr. Hull and Dr. Quo Tai-chi during the latter's visit to Washington en route to Chungking. Dr. Quo, writing from San Francisco on May 26, thanked Mr. Hull for the courteous treatment accorded him and also Mr. Hull's disclosure of the United States foreign policy. Dr. Quo said that he hoped eventually world conditions would permit freer trade and broader cultural exchange between nations. He said that "Upon the restoration of peace the Chinese Government desires and expects to seek and effect the fullest application of those principles on its own economy and its political and economic relations with other countries."

Mr. Hull's answer reads in part: "As you are also aware that the government and people (of the United States) have long had a profound interest in the welfare and progress of China,

it goes without saying that the government of the United States, in continuation of steps already taken toward meeting China's aspirations for the readjustment of the anomalies in its international relations, expects, when conditions of peace again prevail, to move by orderly negotiation and agreement with the Chinese government toward the relinquishment of the last of certain rights of a special character which this country together with other countries have long possessed in China by virtue of agreements providing extraterritorial jurisdiction and related practices.

"Without reservation we are confident that the cause to which we are committed along with China and other countries—national security and fair dealing among nations and peace with justice—will prevail.

"This government welcomes and encourages every advance made by lawful orderly processes by any country toward conditions of peace, security, stability, justice and general welfare. The assurances given in Your excellency's letter of the Chinese support of the principle of equality of treatment and non-discrimination in economic relations should have a wholesome

effect both during the present period of world conflict and when hostilities shall have ceased."

At about dawn on China's Double Tenth Day, 1942, the State Department announced its preparation to negotiate in full accord and simultaneously with Great Britain, for the relinquishment of extraterritorial rights in China. Following is the full text of the announcement:

"On October 9th, 1942, the Acting Secretary of State informed the Chinese Ambassador in Washington that the Government of the United States is prepared promptly to negotiate with the Chinese Government a treaty providing for the immediate relinquishment of this country's extraterritorial rights in China, and for settlement of related questions, and that the Government of the United States expects in the near future to present to the Chinese Government for its consideration a draft treaty which would accomplish the purpose mentioned.

"The Government of the United States has, during the past several weeks, exchanged views with the British Government in regard to this general question and the Government of the United States is gratified to know that the British Government shares this Government's views and is taking similar action."

The Chinese Ambassador, Dr. Wei Tao-ming, issued the following statement:

"The announcement by the United States Government concerning the relinquishment of extraterritorial rights in China marks a new era in China's relations with the Western Powers. On the part of the United States it is a timely action which is entirely consistent with her traditional policy toward China and serves formally to seal the end of an outdated and outworn system. It will not only give great moral encouragement to the Chinese people in their fight for freedom, but it constitutes a definite assurance to all freedom-loving peoples of the world that the efforts of the United Nations are directed toward achieving political freedom everywhere, and an equality of rights among all nations."

## NEW SINO-AMERICAN TREATY

The Treaty and accompanying exchange of notes signed in Washington on January 11, 1943, between the Governments of the United States of America and China provide for the relinquishment by the United States of the extraterritorial and other special privileges which under treaty provisions the United States has hitherto exercised as have other countries in China, and for the adjustment of various matters in connection with this relinquishment.

Following is the full text of the new Sino-American Treaty. The exchange of ratifications took place in Washington on May 20, 1943.

The Republic of China and the United States of America, desirous of emphasizing the friendly relations which have long prevailed between their two peoples and of manifesting their common desire as equal and sovereign states that the high principle in the regulation of human affairs to which they are committed shall be made broadly effective, have resolved to conclude a treaty for the purpose of adjusting certain matters in the relation of the two countries, and have appointed as their Plenipotentiaries:

The President of the National Government of the Republic of China,

Dr. Wei Tao-ming, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of China to the United States of America,

The President of the United States of America,

Mr. Cordell Hull, Secretary of State of the United States of America,

Who having communicated to each other their full powers found to be in due form, have agreed upon the following articles:

Article I. All those provisions of treaties or agreements in force between the Republic of China and the United States of America which authorize the Government of the United States of America or its representatives to exercise jurisdiction over nationals of the United States of America in the territory of the Republic of China are hereby abrogated. Nationals of the United States of America in such territory shall be subject to the jurisdiction of the Government of the Republic of China in accordance with the principles of international law and practice.

Article II. The Government of the United States of America considers that the Final Protocol concluded at Peking on September 7, 1901, between the Chinese Government and other governments, including the Government of the United States of America, should be terminated and agrees that the rights accorded to the Government of the United States of America under the Protocol and under agreements supplementary thereto shall cease.

The Government of the United States of America will cooperate with the Government of the Republic of China for the reaching of any necessary agreements with other governments concerned for the transfer to the Government of the Republic of China of the administration and control of the diplomatic quarter at Peiping, including the official assets and the official obligations of the diplomatic quarter, it being mutually understood that the Government of the Republic of China in taking over administration and control of the diplomatic quarter will make provision for the assumption and discharge of the official obligations and liabilities of the diplomatic quarter and for the recognition and protection of all legitimate rights therein.

The Government of the Republic of China hereby accords to the Government of the United States of America a continued right to use for official purposes the land which has been allocated to the Government of the United States of America in the diplomatic quarter in Peiping, on parts of which are located buildings belonging to the Government of the United States of America.

Article III. The Government of the United States of America considers that the International Settlements at Shanghai and Amoy should revert to the administration and control of the Government of the Republic of China and agrees that the rights accorded to the Government of the United States of America in relation to those Settlements shall cease.

The Government of the United States of America will cooperate with the Government of the Republic of China for the reaching of any necessary agreements with other governments concerned for the transfer to the Government of the Republic of China of the administration and control of International Settlements at Shanghai and Amoy, including the official assets and official obligations of those Settlements, it being mutually understood that the Government of the Republic of China in taking over administration and control of those Settlements will make provision for the assumption and discharge of the official obligations and liabilities of those Settlements and for recognition and protection of all legitimate rights therein.

Article IV. In order to obviate any questions as to existing rights in respect of or as to existing titles to real property in territory of the Republic of China possessed by nationals (including corporations or associations), or by the Government of the United States of America, particularly questions which might arise from the abrogation of the provisions of treaties or agreements as stipulated in Article I, it is agreed that such existing rights or titles shall be indefeasible and shall not be questioned upon any ground except upon proof, established through due process of law, of fraud or of fraudulent or other dishonest practice in the acquisition of such rights or titles, it being understood that no right or title shall be rendered invalid by virtue of any subsequent change in the official procedure through which it was acquired. It is also agreed that these rights or titles shall be subject to the laws and regulations of the Republic of China concerning taxation, national defense and the right of eminent domain; and that no such rights or titles may be alienated to the governments or nationals (including corporations and associations) of any third country without the express consent of the Government of the Republic of China.

It is also agreed that if it should be the desire of the Government of the Republic of China to replace, by new deeds of ownership, existing

lease in perpetuity or other documentary evidence relating to real property held by nationals or by the Government of the United States of America, the replacement shall be made by the Chinese authorities without charges of any sort and the new deeds of ownership shall fully protect the holders of such leases or other documentary evidence and their legal heirs and assigns without diminution of their prior rights and interests, including the right of alienation.

It is further agreed that nationals or the Government of the United States of America shall not be required or asked by the Chinese authorities to make any payments of fees in connection with land transfers for or with relation to any period prior to the effective date of this treaty.

Article V. The Government of the United States of America having long accorded rights to nationals of the Republic of China within the territory of the United States of America to travel, reside and carry on trade throughout the whole extent of that territory, the Government of the Republic of China agrees to accord similar rights to nationals of the United States of America within the territory of the Republic of China. Each of the two governments will endeavor to have accorded in the territory under its jurisdiction to nationals of the other country, in regard to all legal proceedings and to matters relating to the administration of justice and to the levying of taxes or requirements in connection therewith, treatment not less favorable than that accorded to its own nationals.

Article VI. The Government of the Republic of China and the Government of the United States of America mutually agree that the consular officers of each country, duly provided with exequatur, shall be permitted to reside in such ports, places and cities as may be agreed upon. The consular officers of each country shall have the right to interview, to communicate with, and to advise nationals of their country within their consular districts; they shall be informed immediately whenever nationals of their country are under detention or arrest or in prison or are awaiting trial in their consular districts and they shall, upon the notification to the appropriate authorities, be permitted to visit any of such nationals; and in general, the consular officers of each country shall be accorded the rights, privileges and immunities enjoyed by consular officers under modern international usage.

It is likewise agreed that the nationals of each country, in the territory of the other country, shall have the right at all times to communicate with consular officers of their country. Communications to their consular officers from nationals of each country who are under detention or arrest or in prison or are awaiting trial in the territory of the other country shall be forwarded to such consular officers by the local authorities.

Article VII. The Government of the Republic of China and the Government of the United States of America mutually agree that they will enter into negotiations for the conclusion of a comprehensive modern treaty of friendship, commerce, navigation and consular rights, upon the request of either government or in any case within six months after the cessation of the hostilities in the war against the common enemies in which they are now engaged. The treaty to be thus negotiated will be based upon the principles of international law and practice as reflected in modern international procedures and in the modern treaties which the Government of the Republic of China and the Government of the United States of America respectively have in recent years concluded with other governments.

Pending the conclusion of a comprehensive treaty of the character referred to in the preceding paragraph, if any questions affecting the rights in territory of the Republic of China of nationals (including corporations or associations), or of the Government of the United States of America should arise in future and if these questions are not covered by the present Treaty, or by the provisions of existing treaties, conventions, or agreements between the Government of the Republic of China and the Government of the United States of America not abrogated by or inconsistent with this Treaty, such questions shall be discussed by representatives of the two governments and shall be decided in accordance with generally accepted principle of international law and modern international practice.

Article VIII. The present Treaty shall come into force on the day of the exchange of ratifications. The present Treaty shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged at Washington D.C. as soon as possible.

Signed and sealed at Washington D.C. this Eleventh day of the First month of the Thirty-Second year of the Republic of China corresponding to the Eleventh day of January, 1943, in duplicate in Chinese and English, both texts being equally authentic.

#### Exchange of Notes Between the Republic of China and the United States of America

Note from the Chinese Ambassador to the U. S. Secretary of State

Washington, D.C., January 11, 1943.

Excellency:

Under instructions of my Government, I have the honor to state that in connection with the Treaty signed today by the Government of the Republic of China and the Government of the United States of America, in which the Government of the United States of America

relinquishes its extraterritorial and related special rights in China, it is the understanding of the Government of the Republic of China that the rights of the Government of the United States of America and of its nationals in regard to the systems of treaty ports and of special courts in the International Settlements at Shanghai and Amoy and in regard to the employment of foreign pilots in the ports of the territory of China are also relinquished. In the light of the abolition of treaty ports as such, it is understood that all coastal ports in the territory of the Republic of China which are normally open to American overseas merchant shipping will remain open to such shipping after the coming into effect of the present Treaty and the accompanying Exchange of Notes.

It is mutually agreed that the merchant vessels of each country shall be permitted freely to come to the ports, places and waters of the other country which are or may be open to overseas merchant shipping, and that the treatment accorded to such vessels in such ports, places and waters shall be no less favorable than that accorded to national vessels and shall be as favorable as that accorded to the vessels of any third country.

It is mutually understood that the Government of the United States of America relinquishes the special rights which vessels of the United States of America have been accorded with regard to the coasting trade and inland navigation in the waters of the Republic of China and that the Government of the Republic of China is prepared to take over any American properties that may have been engaged for those purposes and to pay adequate compensation therefor. Should either country accord the right of inland navigation or coasting trade to vessels of any third country, such rights would similarly be accorded to the vessels of the other country. The coasting trade and inland navigation of each country are excepted from the requirement of national treatment and are to be regulated according to the laws of each country in relation thereto. It is agreed, however, that vessels of either country shall enjoy within the territory of the other country with respect to the coasting trade and inland navigation treatment as favorable as that accorded to the vessels of any third country.

It is mutually understood that the Government of the United States of America relinquishes the special rights which naval vessels of the United States of America have been accorded in the waters of the Republic of China and that the Government of the Republic of China and the Government of the United States of America shall extend to each other the mutual courtesy of visit by their warships in accordance with international usage and comity.



It is mutually understood that questions which are not covered by the present Treaty and Exchange of Notes and which may affect the sovereignty of the Republic of China shall be discussed by representatives of the two governments and shall be decided in accordance with generally accepted principles of international law and with modern international practice.

With reference to Article 4 of the Treaty, the Government of the Republic of China hereby declares that the restriction on the right of alienation of existing rights or titles to real property referred to in that Article will be applied by the Chinese authorities in an equitable manner and that if and when the Chinese Government declines to give assent to a proposed transfer the Chinese Government will, in a spirit of justice and with a view to precluding loss on the part of the American national whose interests are affected, undertake, if the American party in interest so desires, to take over the right or title in question and to pay adequate compensation therefor.

It is mutually understood that the orders, decrees, judgments, decisions and other acts of the United States court for China and of the consular courts of the United States of America in China shall be considered as *res judicata* and shall, when necessary, be enforced by the Chinese authorities. It is further understood that any pending cases before the United States court for China and consular courts of the United States of America in China at the time of the coming into effect of this Treaty shall, if the plaintiff or petitioner so desires, be remitted to the appropriate courts of the Government of the Republic of China which shall proceed as expeditiously as possible with their disposition and in so doing shall insofar as practicable apply the laws of the United States of America.

It is understood that these agreements and understandings if confirmed by Your Excellency's Government shall be considered as forming an integral part of the Treaty signed today and shall be considered as effected upon the date of the entrance into force of that Treaty.

I shall be much obliged if Your Excellency will confirm the foregoing.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to Your Excellency the assurance of my highest consideration.

(Signed) Wei Tao-ming

His Excellency,  
Mr. Cordell Hull,  
Secretary of State of the  
United States of America,  
Washington, D.C.

Note from the Secretary of State of the  
United States of America to the  
Chinese Ambassador

Washington, D.C., January 11, 1943.

Excellency:

In connection with the Treaty signed today between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Republic of China in which the Government of United States of America relinquishes its extraterritorial and related special rights in China, I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your Note of today's date reading as follows:

(Here the Chinese Ambassador's Note is  
quoted in full.)

I have the honor to confirm that the agreement and understanding which have been reached in connection with the Treaty signed to-day by the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Republic of China are as set forth in the above Note from Your Excellency.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to Your Excellency the assurance of my highest consideration.

(Signed) Cordell Hull.

His Excellency,  
Dr. Wei Tao-ming,  
Chinese Ambassador,  
Washington, D.C.

#### SINO-BRITISH NEGOTIATIONS

Following are the texts of the notes exchanged in July, 1941, between Foreign Minister Quo Tai-chi and the British Ambassador Sir Archibald Clark Kerr, concerning the abolition of extraterritorial rights, the rendition of concessions and the revision of treaties on a basis of reciprocity and equality, when peace is restored in the Far East:

#### British Note

British Embassy,  
Chungking,  
July 4, 1941.

Sir,

On instructions from His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, I have the honor to inform Your Excellency that, when peace is restored in the Far East, His Majesty's Government will be ready to negotiate with the Government of China the abolition of extraterritorial rights, the rendition of concessions and the revision of treaties on a basis of reciprocity and equality.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to Your Excellency the assurance of my highest consideration.

(Signed) Archibald Clark Kerr.

His Excellency,  
Dr. Quo Tai-chi,  
Minister of Foreign Affairs,  
Chungking.

#### Chinese Reply

July 12, 1941.

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of Your Excellency's note of the 4th instant, informing me that, when peace is restored in the Far East, His Britannic Majesty's Government will be ready to negotiate with the Government of China the abolition of extraterritorial rights, the rendition of concessions and the revision of treaties on a basis of reciprocity and equality.

In reply, I have the honor to state that the Chinese Government highly appreciates this expression of friendship on the part of His Britannic Majesty's Government.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to Your Excellency the assurance of my highest consideration.

(Signed) Quo Tai-chi.

His Excellency,  
Sir Archibald Clark Kerr, K.C.M.G.,  
His Britannic Majesty's Ambassador,  
Chungking.

Regarding the ending of British extraterritorial rights and privileges in China, the British Government made another announcement on October 10, 1942, as follows:

"His Majesty's Government declared in public pronouncements on January 14, 1939, July 18, 1940 and June 11, 1941, that they were prepared at the conclusion of hostilities in the Far East to negotiate with the Chinese Government for abrogation of extraterritorial rights and privileges hitherto enjoyed by their nationals in China. Similar pronouncements have been made by the United States Government with whom His Majesty's Government have been in consultation. In order to emphasize their friendship and solidarity with their Chinese allies, His Majesty's Government now decided to proceed further in the matter at once. Accordingly the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in a communication to the Chinese charge d'affaires in London on October 9 said that His Majesty's Government would in the near future open discussions with the Chinese Government and present for their consideration a draft treaty for immediate relinquishment of

extraterritorial rights and privileges in China and settlement of questions intimately connected therewith. His Majesty's Government recently had been engaged in exchange of views with the United States Government on this question. They have been pleased to learn that a similar communication was made by the United States Government on the same day to the Chinese Ambassador in Washington and the fact that the two governments found it possible to take similar action in this important matter which occasioned lively satisfaction in London."

#### NEW SINO-BRITISH TREATY

Following is the full text of the new Sino-British treaty which was signed in Chungking on January 11, 1943. The exchange of ratifications took place in Chungking on May 20, 1943.

His Excellency the President of the National Government of the Republic of China and His Majesty the King of Great Britain, Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India:

Being desirous of defining more clearly in a spirit of friendship the general relations between them, and for this purpose to settle certain matters relating to jurisdiction in China:

Have decided to conclude a Treaty for this purpose and to that end have appointed as their Plenipotentiaries:

His Excellency the President of the National Government of the Republic of China:

His Excellency, Doctor Tse-Vung Soong,  
Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of China;

His Majesty the King of Great Britain, Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India (hereinafter referred to as His Majesty the King):

For the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland:

His Excellency, Sir Horace James Seymour K.C.M.G., C.V.O., His Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Republic of China;

For India:

Hugh Edward Richardson, Esquire, an officer of the Indian Political Service;

Who, having communicated to each other their full powers, found to be in good and due form, have agreed as follows:—

Article 1. (1) The territories of the High Contracting Parties to which the present Treaty applies are, on the part of His Excellency the President of the National Government of the Republic of China, all the territories of the Republic of China; and on the part of His Majesty the King, the United Kingdom of

Great Britain and Northern Ireland, India, all colonies, overseas territories, protectorates of His Majesty, all territories under His protection or suzerainty and all mandated territories in respect of which the mandate is exercised by His Government in the United Kingdom. Any reference in subsequent articles of the present Treaty to the territories of one or the other High Contracting Party shall be deemed to relate to these territories of that High Contracting Party to which the present Treaty applies.

(2) In the present Treaty, the term "nationals of the one (or of the other) High Contracting Party" shall in relation to the Republic of China, mean all nationals of the Republic of China; and in relation to His Majesty the King all British subjects and all British protected persons belonging to the territories to which the present Treaty applies.

(3) The expression "companies of the one (or of the other) High Contracting Party" shall for the purpose of the present Treaty be interpreted as meaning limited liability and other companies, partnerships and associations constituted under the law of the territories of that High Contracting Party to which the present Treaty applies.

Article 2. All those provisions of treaties or agreements in force between His Excellency the President of the National Government of the Republic of China and His Majesty the King which authorize His Majesty or His representatives to exercise jurisdiction over nationals or companies of His Majesty in the territory of the Republic of China are hereby abrogated. The nationals and companies of His Majesty the King shall be subject in the territory of the Republic of China to the jurisdiction of the Government of the Republic of China, in accordance with the principles of international law and practice.

Article 3. (1) His Majesty the King considers that the final Protocol concluded at Peking on September 7th, 1901, between the Chinese Government and other Governments, including His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, should be terminated, and agrees that the rights accorded to His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom under that Protocol and under the agreements supplementary thereto shall cease.

(2) His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom will cooperate with the Government of the Republic of China for the reaching of any necessary agreements with the other Governments concerned for the transfer to the Government of the Republic of China of the administration and control of the diplomatic quarter at Peiping, including the official assets and the official obligations of the diplomatic quarter, it being mutually

understood that the Government of the Republic of China, in taking over administration and control of the diplomatic quarter, will make provision for the assumption and discharge of the official obligations and liabilities of the diplomatic quarter and for the recognition and protection of all legitimate rights therein.

(3) The Government of the Republic of China shall accord to His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom a continued right to use for official purposes the land which has been allocated to His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom in the diplomatic quarter in Peiping, on parts of which are located buildings belonging to His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom.

Article 4. (1) His Majesty the King considers that the International Settlements at Shanghai and Amoy should revert to the administration and control of the Government of the Republic of China and agrees that the rights accorded to His Majesty in relation to those Settlements shall cease.

(2) His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom will cooperate with the Government of the Republic of China for the reaching of any necessary agreements with the other Governments concerned for the transfer to the Government of the Republic of China of the administration and control of the International Settlements at Shanghai and Amoy, including the official assets and the official obligations of those Settlements, it being mutually understood that the Government of the Republic of China, in taking over administration and control of those Settlements, will make provision for the assumption and discharge of the official obligations and liabilities of those Settlements and for the recognition and protection of all legitimate rights therein.

(3) His Majesty the King agrees that the British Concession (including the whole British municipal area) at Tientsin and the British Concession at Canton shall revert to the administration and control of the Government of the Republic of China and that the rights accorded to His Majesty in relation to those Concessions shall cease.

(4) The administration and control of the British Concession (including the whole British municipal area) at Tientsin and the British Concession at Canton, including their official assets and official obligations shall be transferred to the Government of the Republic of China, it being mutually understood that the Government of the Republic of China in taking over administration and control of those Concessions will make provision for the assumption and discharge of the official obligations and liabilities of those Concessions and for the recognition and protection of all legitimate rights therein.

Article 5. (1) In order to obviate any questions as to existing rights in respect of or as to existing titles to real property in the territory of the Republic of China possessed by nationals and companies of His Majesty the King, or by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, and in particular questions which might arise from the abrogation of the provisions of treaties and agreements provided for in Article 2 of the present Treaty, the High Contracting Parties agree that such existing rights or titles shall be indefeasible and shall not be questioned upon any ground except upon proof, established through due process of law, of fraud or of fraudulent or dishonest practices in the acquisition of such rights or titles, it being understood that no right or title shall be rendered invalid by virtue of any subsequent change in the original procedure through which it was acquired. It is also agreed that the exercise of these rights or titles shall be subject to the laws and regulations of the Republic of China concerning taxation, national defense and the right of eminent domain; and that no such rights or titles may be alienated to the government or nationals (including companies) of any third country without the express consent of the Government of the Republic of China.

(2) The High Contracting Parties also agree that if it should be the desire of the Government of the Republic of China to replace by new deeds of ownership existing leases in perpetuity or other documentary evidence relating to real property held by nationals or companies of His Majesty the King or by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, the replacement shall be made by the Chinese authorities without charges of any sort and the new deeds of ownership shall fully protect the holders of such leases or other documentary evidence, and their legal heirs and assigns without diminution of their prior rights and interests, including the right of alienation.

(3) The High Contracting Parties agree further that nationals or companies of His Majesty the King or His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom shall not be required or asked by the Chinese authorities to make any payments of fees in connection with land transfers for or with relation to any period prior to the effective date of this Treaty.

Article 6. His Majesty the King, having long accorded rights to nationals of the Republic of China within each of the territories of His Majesty's to travel, reside and carry on commerce throughout the whole extent of that territory, the Government of the Republic of China agrees to accord similar rights to nationals of His Majesty within the territory of the Republic of China. Each High Contracting Party will endeavor to accord in his territories to nationals and companies of the other High Contracting

Party in regard to all legal proceedings and in matters relating to the administration of justice and the levying of taxes and requirements in connection therewith treatment not less favorable than that accorded to his own nationals and companies.

Article 7. The consular officers of one High Contracting Party, duly provided with exequaturs, shall be permitted to reside in such ports, places and cities of the territories of the other High Contracting Party as may be agreed upon. The consular officers of one High Contracting Party shall have the right within their districts in the territories of the other High Contracting Party to interview, communicate with and to advise the nationals and companies of the former High Contracting Party, and the nationals and companies of one High Contracting Party within the territories of the other High Contracting Party shall have the right at all times to communicate with the consular officers of the former High Contracting Party. The consular officers of one High Contracting Party in the territories of the other shall be informed immediately by the appropriate local authorities when any of their nationals are arrested or detained in their consular districts by the local authorities. They shall have the right to visit within the limits of their districts any of their nationals who are under arrest or awaiting trial in prison. Communications from the nationals of one High Contracting Party in prison in the territories of the other High Contracting Party addressed to the consular officers of the former High Contracting Party will be forwarded to the appropriate consular officer by the local authorities. Consular officers of one High Contracting Party shall be accorded in the territories of the other High Contracting Party the rights, privileges and immunities enjoyed by consular officers under modern international usage.

Article 8. (1) The High Contracting Parties will enter into negotiations for the conclusion of a comprehensive modern treaty or treaties of friendship, commerce, navigation and consular rights upon the request of either of them or in any case within six months after the cessation of the hostilities in the war against the common enemies in which they are both now engaged. The treaty or treaties to be thus negotiated will be based upon the principles of international law and practice as reflected in modern international procedure and in the modern treaties which each of the High Contracting Parties have respectively concluded with other Powers in recent years.

(2) Pending the conclusion of the comprehensive treaty or treaties referred to in the preceding paragraph, if any questions affecting the rights in the territory of the Republic of China of the nationals or companies of His Majesty the King, or of His Majesty's Government in the United



Kingdom or of the Government of India, should arise in future and if these questions are not covered by the present Treaty and Exchange of Notes or by the provisions of existing treaties, conventions and agreements between the High Contracting Parties which are not abrogated by or inconsistent with the present Treaty and Exchange of Notes, such questions shall be discussed by representatives of the High Contracting Parties and shall be decided in accordance with the generally accepted principles of international law and with modern international practice.

Article 9. The present Treaty shall be ratified and the instruments of ratification shall be exchanged at Chungking as soon as possible. The Treaty shall come into force on the day of the exchange of ratifications.

In witness whereof the above mentioned Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Treaty and affixed thereto their seals.

Done at Chungking this Eleventh Day of the First month of the Thirty Second year of the Republic of China corresponding to the Eleventh day of January, 1943, in duplicate in Chinese and English, both texts being equally authentic.

#### EXCHANGE OF NOTES

A Note from Dr. Tse-Vung Soong, Chinese Minister of Foreign Affairs, to Sir Horace James Seymour

Chungking, January 11, 1943.

Sir,

During the negotiations for the Treaty signed today between His Excellency the President of the National Government of the Republic of China and His Majesty the King of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, for the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and India, a number of questions have been discussed upon which agreement has been reached. The understandings reached with regard to these points are recorded in the annex to the present Note, which annex shall be considered as an integral part of the Treaty signed today and shall be considered as effective upon the date of the entrance into force of that Treaty. I should be glad if Your Excellency would confirm these understandings on behalf of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to Your Excellency the assurance of my highest consideration.

His Excellency,  
Sir Horace James Seymour, K.C.M.G., C.V.O.,  
His Majesty's Ambassador,  
Chungking.

#### ANNEX

1. With reference to Article 2 and Article 8 (2) of the Treaty, it is understood that:

(a) His Majesty the King relinquishes all existing treaty rights relating to the system of Treaty Ports in China. His Excellency the President of the National Government of the Republic of China and His Majesty the King mutually agree that the merchant vessels of the one High Contracting Party shall be permitted freely to come to ports, places and waters in the territories of the other High Contracting Party which are or may be opened to overseas merchant shipping and that the treatment accorded to such vessels in such ports, places and waters shall be no less favorable than that accorded to national vessels and shall be as favorable as that accorded to vessels of any third country. The term "vessels" of a High Contracting Party means all vessels registered under the law of any of the territories of that High Contracting Party to which the Treaty signed this day applies.

(b) His Majesty the King relinquishes all existing treaty rights relating to the special courts in the International Settlements at Shanghai and Amoy.

(c) His Majesty the King relinquishes all existing rights with regard to the employment of foreign pilots in the ports of the territories of the Republic of China.

(d) His Majesty the King relinquishes all existing treaty rights relating to the entry of His naval vessels into the waters of the Republic of China; and the Government of the Republic of China and His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom shall extend to each other in connection with the visits of the warships of the one High Contracting Party to the ports of the other High Contracting Party mutual courtesy in accordance with ordinary international usage.

(e) His Majesty the King relinquishes any right to claim the appointment of a British subject as Inspector-General of the Chinese Customs.

(f) All the courts of His Majesty the King which have hitherto been sitting in the territories of the Republic of China having been closed down in accordance with Article 2 of the Treaty signed this day, the orders, decrees, judgments and other acts of any of His Majesty's courts in China shall be considered as *res judicata* and shall when necessary be enforced by the Chinese authorities; further, any cases pending before any of His Majesty's courts in China at the time of the coming into effect of the Treaty shall, if the plaintiff or the petitioner so desires, be remitted to the appropriate courts of the Government of the Republic of China which shall proceed to dispose of them as expeditiously as

possible and in so doing shall so far as practicable apply the law which the court of His Majesty would have applied.

(g) His Majesty the King relinquishes the special rights which His vessels have been accorded with regard to coasting trade and inland navigation in the waters of the Republic of China, and the Government of the Republic of China are prepared to take over any properties of His Majesty's nationals or companies which have been used for the purposes of those trades and which the owners may wish to dispose of and to pay adequate compensation therefor. The Government of the Republic of China relinquish the special rights which have been accorded to Chinese vessels in respect of navigation on the river Irrawaddy under Article 12 of the Convention signed in London on March 1st, 1894. Should one High Contracting Party accord in any of his territories the right of coasting trade or inland navigation to the vessels of any third country, such rights would similarly be accorded to the vessels of the other High Contracting Party provided that the latter High Contracting Party permits the vessels of the former High Contracting Party to engage in the coasting trade or inland navigation of his territories. Coasting trade and inland navigation are excepted from the requirement of national treatment and are to be regulated according to the laws of each High Contracting Party in relation thereto. It is agreed, however, that the vessels of either High Contracting Party shall enjoy within the territories of the other High Contracting Party with regard to coasting trade and inland navigation treatment as favorable as that accorded to the vessels of any third country subject to the above mentioned proviso.

2. With reference to the last sentence of Article 5 (1) of the Treaty, the Government of the Republic of China declare that the restriction on the right of alienation of existing rights and titles to real property referred to in that Article will be applied by the Chinese authorities in an equitable manner and that, if and when the Chinese Government decline to assent to a proposed transfer, the Chinese Government will, in a spirit of justice and with a view to precluding loss on the part of the nationals or companies of His Majesty the King whose interests are affected, undertake, if so requested by the national or company of His Majesty to whom permission to alienate has been refused, to take over the rights and titles in question and pay adequate compensation therefor.

3. It is understood that the abolition of the system of the Treaty Ports will not affect existing property rights and that the nationals of each High Contracting Party will enjoy the right to acquire and hold real property throughout the territories of the other High Contracting Party in accordance with the conditions and require-

ments prescribed in the laws and regulations of the High Contracting Party.

4. It is further agreed that questions which may affect the sovereignty of the Republic of China and which are not covered by the present Treaty or by the preceding provisions of the present Note shall be discussed by the Representatives of the Government of the Republic of China and His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and decided in accordance with the generally accepted principles of international law and modern international practice.

B. Note from Sir Horace James Seymour to Dr. Tse-Vung Soong, Chinese Minister of Foreign Affairs

Chungking, January 11, 1943.

Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of Your Excellency's Note of today's date reading as follows:

"During the negotiations for the Treaty signed to-day between His Excellency the President of the National Government of the Republic of China and His Majesty the King of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, for the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and India, a number of questions have been discussed upon which agreement has been reached. The understandings reached with regard to these points are recorded in the annex to the present Note which annex shall be considered as an integral part of the Treaty signed today and shall be considered as effective upon the date of the entrance into force of that Treaty. I should be glad if Your Excellency would confirm these understandings on behalf of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom."

I have the honor on behalf of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom to confirm the understandings reached between us as recorded in the annex to Your Excellency's Note, which annex shall be considered as an integral part of the Treaty signed today and shall be considered as effective upon the date of the entrance into force of that Treaty.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to Your Excellency the assurance of my highest consideration.

His Excellency,  
Dr. Tse-Vung Soong,  
Minister of Foreign Affairs of the  
Republic of China.  
Chungking.

C. Note from Dr. Tse-Vung Soong, Chinese Minister of Foreign Affairs, to Mr. Hugh Edward Richardson  
 Chungking, January 11, 1943.

Sir,

During the negotiations for the Treaty signed today between His Excellency the President of the National Government of the Republic of China and His Majesty the King of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, for the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and India, a number of questions have been discussed upon which agreement has been reached. The understandings reached with regard to these points are recorded in the annex to the present Note, which annex shall be considered as an integral part of the Treaty signed to-day and shall be considered as effective upon the date of the entrance into force of that Treaty. I should be glad if you would confirm these understandings on behalf of the Government of India.

I avail myself of this opportunity to offer to you the assurance of my high consideration.

Hugh Edward Richardson, Esquire,  
 Indian Agency General,  
 Chungking.

D. Note from Mr. Hugh Edward Richardson to Dr. Tse-Vung Soong, Chinese Minister of Foreign Affairs  
 Chungking, January 11th 1943.

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of Your Excellency's Note of today's date reading as follows:

"During the negotiations for the Treaty signed to-day between His Excellency the President of the National Government of the Republic of China and His Majesty the King of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, for the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and India, a number of questions have been discussed upon which agreement has been reached. The understandings reached with regard to these points are recorded in the annex to the present Note, which annex shall be considered as an integral part of the Treaty signed to-day and shall be considered as effective upon the date of the entrance into force of that Treaty. I should be glad if you would confirm these understandings on behalf of the Government of India."

I have the honor on behalf of the Government of India to confirm the understandings reached between us as recorded in the annex to Your Excellency's Note, which annex shall be considered as an integral part of the Treaty signed to-day and shall be considered as effective upon the date of the entrance into force of that Treaty.

I avail myself of this opportunity to offer to Your Excellency the assurance of my highest consideration.

His Excellency,  
 Dr. Tse-Vung Soong,  
 Minister of Foreign Affairs of the  
 Republic of China,  
 Chungking.

#### AGREED MINUTE

With reference to paragraph 1 (a) of the Annex to the Note from the Chinese Minister of Foreign Affairs to His Majesty's Ambassador in connection with the Treaty signed today, it is understood that both High Contracting Parties reserve the right to close any port to all overseas merchant shipping for reasons of national security.

With reference to paragraph 1 (g) of the Annex to the Note from the Chinese Minister of Foreign Affairs to His Majesty's Ambassador in connection with the Treaty signed today, His Majesty's Ambassador informed the Chinese Government that trade between India on the one hand and Burma or Ceylon on the other has always been regarded as coasting trade.

Chungking,  
 January 11th, 1943.

#### OTHER COUNTRIES READY TO RELINQUISH THEIR SPECIAL RIGHTS IN CHINA

##### BRAZIL

In connection with the negotiations for a new treaty between China and Brazil, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued the following announcement on October 26, 1942:

"On April 25, 1942, Dr. Tan Shao-hua, Chinese Minister to Brazil, notified the Brazilian Government of the Chinese Government's desire to conclude with the Brazilian Government a new treaty of amity, commerce and navigation, to replace the one signed between China and Brazil in 1881.

"The Brazilian Government has accepted in principle the proposal of the Chinese Government and replied on May 2 to the effect that necessary steps would be taken so that negotiations may be started at an opportune moment.

"The Brazilian Minister of Foreign Affairs is now negotiating with the Chinese Minister a new treaty on the basis of complete equality and mutual respect of sovereignty."

#### BELGIUM

The Belgian Government informed the Chinese Government in November 1942 of its readiness to relinquish its extraterritoriality and related rights in China and to conclude a new treaty of equality in the near future.

#### CANADA

Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King announced at Ottawa on October 10, 1942, that Canada had opened negotiations with the Chinese Government in renouncing any special rights that Canadians enjoy in China under former British treaties. The Prime Minister stated: "Canada is prepared to negotiate a treaty with China by which Canada would relinquish extraterritorial and related rights which Canadians have enjoyed under the terms of existing agreements between China and Britain.

"Discussions have already been instituted with the Chinese Minister in Ottawa. The relinquishment of extraterritorial rights would not in any way adversely affect the existing land ownership by Canadians in China or the facilities for travel, residence and trade in that country."

Shortly afterwards, Dr. Liu Shih-shun, Chinese Minister to Canada, formally notified Mackenzie King, Premier and concurrently Secretary of State for External Affairs of Canada, the Chinese Government's acceptance of Canada's proposal to negotiate a treaty relinquishing extraterritorial rights in China. The full text of the note follows:

"Referring to the conversation which I had on October tenth with Dr. Norman Robertson, Under-secretary for External Affairs, in the course of which he stated the Canadian Government's proposal to negotiate a treaty with China relinquishing Canada's extraterritorial and related rights in my country, I have the honor to inform you that I have received instructions to convey to you in the name of the Chinese Government our sincere thanks for the generous offer of the Canadian Government and say that the Chinese Government gladly accepts the proposal and will enter into negotiations as soon as the Canadian Government is ready to do so. The belief is doubtless shared by both Governments that the conclusion of the treaty under contemplation will usher in a new era of auspicious relations between China and Canada."

#### LUXEMBURG

The Luxembourg Government, through the Belgian Ambassador to China, Baron Guillaume, notified the Chinese Government on December 24, 1942 of its relinquishment of extraterritorial rights in China.

#### THE NETHERLANDS

The Netherlands Government notified the Chinese Government of its intention to relinquish extraterritoriality and related rights in China and to conclude a new treaty on the basis of equality, it was announced in Chungking on October 29, 1942.

The Netherlands Government also signified its willingness to rectify its regulations governing overseas Chinese in the Netherlands East Indies.

#### NEW ZEALAND

The New Zealand Prime Minister, Mr. Peter Fraser, addressing a Chinese gathering in Wellington on October 10, 1942 to celebrate China's National Day, said that he expected early steps would be taken to remove the last vestiges of any encroachment of China's sovereignty. "So far as New Zealand is concerned," he said, "we desire no rights from China other than those freely accorded us by the Chinese Government under its distinguished leader General Chiang Kai-shek, as equal partners in the great enterprise in which we are joined together with all the United Nations. So far as we are concerned, we renounce all rights in China, however acquired which are not in accordance with China's full status as a sovereign state. China's epic resistance to Japan's wanton aggression has been an inspiration to the world. It has established once and for all China's right to be regarded as equal in all respects. With the Allies in the fight against aggression, no one can exaggerate the debt we owe to China. We in New Zealand are determined to do all that lies in our power to repay that debt."

#### NORWAY

The Norwegian Government in a note forwarded by its Ambassador in London to the Chinese Embassy there in mid-October, 1942, expressed its readiness to conclude a new treaty to replace the one entered into between China and Norway in 1847, under which the Norwegians have enjoyed extraterritoriality and related rights.

#### APPENDIX

##### REGULATIONS GOVERNING THE TREATMENT OF ENEMY ALIENS

(Promulgated by the National Government on January 1, 1942)

Article 1. Unless otherwise provided by International Conventions, enemy aliens residing within the territory of the Republic of China shall be treated according to these regulations.

Article 2. Enemy aliens shall be concentrated for internment. In case of special circumstances and with the permission of the Ministry of Interior and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, enemy aliens may be exempted from internment



and be allowed to continue their residence, or to withdraw from the Chinese territory.

Article 3. Enemy aliens shall be subject to search. Rules relating to the afore-said search shall be made by the Executive Yuan.

Article 4. Enemy aliens committing any of the following offenses, shall be delivered to the military court for trial according to law;

- (1) spying into military secrets;
- (2) attempting or directly assisting the enemy,
- (3) hostile and resistant acts.

Article 5. Local authorities shall notify, within 5 days after the receipt of these regulations, all enemy aliens within their jurisdiction to register according to prescribed procedure.

Article 6. All enemy aliens shall report, within 5 days after the receipt of the notification as provided in the preceding Article, their name, sex, age, profession, nationality, and residence to the competent local authority for registration, and present also their passports for deposit. Should there be in their possession any arms and other articles, books or maps capable of military use, they shall report the same in the form of a list to the local authority for search and seizure. Should any enemy alien fail to comply with this regulation within the prescribed period, he shall be subject to compulsory measures.

Enemy aliens in the course of travel shall terminate their journeys on the very day when they shall have received the notification of the local authority, and register at the place where they stop in accordance with the aforesaid provision.

Article 7. Local authorities, after the registration of the enemy aliens, shall report to higher authorities lists of enemy aliens and also recommend the due treatment to be accorded to each of them for presentation to the Ministry of Interior and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for final approval.

Enemy aliens who are to be interned or to be exempted from internment and allowed to continue their residence, shall each be given a registration certificate. On the certificate shall be recorded the name, sex, age, profession, nationality and original residence of the enemy alien concerned. The form of the certificate shall be made by the Executive Yuan.

Article 8. Enemy aliens, who are exempted from internment and allowed to continue to reside, shall after the first registration report to the competent local authority once every 10 days.

Article 9. Enemy aliens mentioned in the preceding Article shall be duly protected and closely watched by the competent local authority;

their mail and telegraphic communications shall be censored and persons in intercourse with them shall be questioned.

Article 10. Enemy aliens, who are to be interned, shall, within 5 days after registration, be delivered by the competent local authorities to the enemy aliens' internment camp.

Article 11. The Ministry of Interior shall, for the purpose of internment, establish at place or places where it is facile to effect protection and administration, one or several enemy aliens' internment camps, and appoint officials to take charge of them. Rules relating to the administration of the enemy aliens' internment camps shall be made by the Executive Yuan.

Article 12. All technical men of enemy nationality under employment shall be discharged and delivered to the enemy aliens' internment camp. If under special circumstances, the employer believes his enemy employee to be really faithful and reliable and considers his continued service necessary, he shall report the case to the Ministry of Interior and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for final decision. Should his continued employment be approved, the enemy employee shall be exempted from internment and the employer shall be responsible for keeping surveillance on the former.

Article 13. Catholic missionaries of enemy nationality, should they be exempted from internment and allowed to continue to reside, shall concentrate in the Catholic churches to be designated at appropriate localities and continue their missionary work under the protection and surveillance of the local authority concerned.

Protestant missionaries of enemy nationality, should they be exempted from internment and allowed to continue to reside, shall concentrate in the Protestant churches under the control of Chinese Christians, and continue their missionary work under the protection and surveillance of the local authority concerned. Rules relating to the concentration, protection and surveillance of the missionaries of the two foregoing paragraphs shall be stipulated by the Executive Yuan.

Article 14. Any enemy alien, being exempted from internment and allowed to continue to reside, shall not change his residence. In case of special circumstances, the enemy alien may petition to the competent local authority for permission to his move. The local authority, after granting such a permission, shall report to the Ministry of Interior and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Rules relating to the aforesaid removal shall be stipulated by the Executive Yuan.

Article 15. Any enemy alien, who is to evacuate from Chinese territory, shall, through the intermediary of the competent local authority,

petition the Ministry of Interior and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for permission. If permission be granted, passport shall be issued and the route of travel be designated.

Article 16. The local authority shall accord due protection to, and keep close surveillance on, the evacuating enemy alien during his journey, and shall require from him, upon his departure from his jurisdiction or the Chinese boundary, a written certificate of safe evacuation, to be submitted to the Ministry of Interior and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Article 17. Regulations relating to the registration of Koreans, Formosans and natives of Loochou (Luichiu) Islands already enforced prior to the coming into force of the present regulations shall remain in force.

Article 18. These regulations shall come into force upon the date of their promulgation.

#### REGULATIONS GOVERNING THE DISPOSAL OF ENEMY PROPERTY

(Promulgated by the National Government on January 1, 1942)

Article 1. The property of enemy nations or that of enemy aliens shall be disposed of in accordance with these regulations.

Article 2. The property of enemy nations or that of enemy aliens shall be registered in accordance with provisions to be stipulated by the Executive Yuan.

Article 3. Immovable property of enemy nations which can be used for military purposes may be taken over, utilized or confiscated. Good care, however, must be taken of churches, schools, hospitals, art museums, relics of historical interest, libraries and their collections. They shall not be transferred or damaged.

Article 4. Means of transport, munitions, foodstuffs and other movable property of enemy nations, which can be used for military purposes, may be taken over, utilized or confiscated. Unless necessary, telegraphic lines connecting with neutral countries shall not be put out of function or damaged.

Article 5. Cash, reserve funds, bonds of enemy nations and taxes collected for these nations may be taken over or confiscated. The taxes shall continue to be collected as usual and necessary administrative expenses of places affected shall be defrayed as usual.

Article 6. Forests, mines, farmlands and other immovable property of enemy nations or enemy aliens, that can be used for military purposes, may be placed under control. The Chinese Government may collect profits yielded by property of enemy nations.

Article 7. Private property of enemy aliens should be respected. That which can be used by the enemy nations in both offensive and defensive operations may be either taken over

or prevented from being moved. Whenever necessary for military reasons, such property can be damaged. Immovable property of enemy aliens which can be used for military purposes, may be taken over and utilized.

Article 8. Citizens of the Republic of China now managing or occupying property of enemy aliens, and those having relations with enemy aliens as creditors or debtors, should report to competent local authorities within one month. Firms and shops having capital of enemy aliens should do likewise.

Article 9. Enemy nationals who are exempted from internment and permitted to remain in China, may look after their own property under the surveillance of competent local authorities. Enemy aliens who have received permission to evacuate, may entrust their property to the care of citizens of the Republic of China upon approval of competent local authorities.

Article 10. The property of enemy aliens either interned or evacuated shall be looked after by competent local authorities. Whenever necessary, such property may be liquidated. Regulations governing the management or liquidation of enemy property shall be stipulated by the Executive Yuan.

Article 11. Both principal and interest payments on loans owed to enemy aliens may be suspended.

Article 12. A committee shall be organized to look after enemy property. The organic regulations of this committee shall be laid down by the Executive Yuan.

Article 13. Matters other than those stipulated in these regulations shall be handled in accordance with international practices.

Article 14. These regulations shall come into force on the date of their promulgation.

#### REGULATIONS GOVERNING PASSPORTS AND VISAS FOR MISSIONARIES OF COUNTRIES HAVING NO DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH CHINA

Provisional regulations concerning the granting of passports and visas to missionaries of countries having no diplomatic relations with China, were issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on January 6, 1942. The following statement was issued by the Foreign Office on the same day:

"The Chinese Government will continue to respect the lawful interests of the nationals of countries having no diplomatic relations with China, provided that such interests do not contravene the policy of the Government. Among the nationals of these countries, there are at present a large number of missionaries who have signified their desire to continue their work in China after having been devoting themselves, out of the spirit of humanity, to various kinds of relief work ever since the beginning of the war.

"Recently, Archbishop Zanin, the Apostolic Delegate in China, sent Reverend Father Leo Ferrary to Chungking to discuss with the Chinese Government problems concerning the passports of the said missionaries. Paying due regard to their safety and interests, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs now issues, in accordance with its fixed policy, the 'Provisional Regulations Concerning the Granting of Passports and Visas to Missionaries of Countries Having No Diplomatic Relations with China.'"

The missionaries are required to secure their passports within a specified period so that a full record of their activities can be made and due protection extended to them. The text of the regulations is given below:

#### ENTRY PASSPORTS

1. Missionaries of countries having no diplomatic relations with China, who were engaged in religious work in this country but had left temporarily on business for neighboring countries after March and before July 1, 1941, and who wish to return to China, shall be permitted to file with a Chinese diplomatic or consular establishment or branch office abroad two copies of an application form, together with photographs, a statement of his reasons for returning, and documents proving his identity. The Chinese diplomatic or consular establishment or branch office concerned shall grant the entry visa after having secured the permission of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

2. The Chinese diplomatic or consular establishment or branch office concerned shall give the visa on the application form, which shall be returned to the applicant, and not on the passport issued by the applicant's government. The regular fee shall be charged for the visa.

3. No entry visas shall be granted to the said missionaries who have left China since July 2, 1941.

#### TRAVEL IN INTERIOR

1. Catholic missionaries of the said countries who have engaged in religious work in the interior shall apply to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for passports for travel in the interior. The applicant shall fill up an application form, which, together with two two-inch photographs showing his bust and the necessary fee, shall be sent to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The applicant shall also submit to that Ministry a guarantee from the Office of the Apostolic Delegate in China that the applicant will not engage in any political activity or violate the law of the land.

2. Protestant missionaries of the said countries who have been engaged in religious work in the interior shall secure guarantees from their respective missions and apply for passports for travel in the interior in accordance with the above procedure.

3. The above-mentioned passports for travel in the interior shall be valid for one year, and the fee charged for each of them is eight dollars. Such passports may be renewed at their expiration and a fee of eight dollars is charged for every new passport issued.

4. If the business of the mission requires a missionary to leave the place where he is working for another place, the mission shall submit a written statement of the business and the time required for the trip back and forth or the locality to which the missionary has been transferred, and request the local authorities of the place where he is residing to visa the passport issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, indicating the route to be followed and the destination. No fee will be charged for the visa.

5. If it becomes necessary, on account of war, for a missionary to leave the place where he works for some other place, the local authorities of the place where he is residing shall request the Central Government to restrict his activities or to persuade him to move elsewhere. He shall be granted the necessary visa free of charge.

6. Upon the entry into force of the present regulations, the said missionaries shall apply, in compliance with Articles 1 and 2 or Section B, for new passports within two months, irrespective of whether the visa or passports for travel in the interior which they now hold have expired or not.

#### DEPARTURE PASSPORTS

1. If the said missionaries wish to leave China and have no intention of returning, they shall request the provincial or municipal authorities of the places where they are residing or the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to designate the route to be followed in their departure and to issue their departure passports.

2. Any missionary who is suspected of engaging in political activity or violating the law of the land shall be dealt with according to law. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs may cancel his passport for travel in the interior, designate the route for his departure, and escort him to the border. The office of the Apostolic Delegate in China or the mission to which the missionary belongs, shall be duly informed.

## CHAPTER V

### PUBLIC FINANCE

#### GENERAL SURVEY

The present war between China and Japan has been fought not only on the battlefields but also on the economic front. It is necessary to coordinate the fiscal policy of a country with other wartime government policies in order to ensure final victory. With the Sino-Japanese War developing into one of attrition, the relative economic strength of the two countries will be severely tested. The Ministry of Finance of the National Government, therefore, has had a very important and difficult task to perform. On the one hand, it has to meet the costs of war and stabilize the currency, while, on the other, it has to devise ways and means to augment China's economic strength, so that plans for the future may be patterned and put into operation. All measures hitherto adopted have been guided by two principles: First, military operations must be accompanied by national reconstruction; second, the people's livelihood must be given due consideration in the formulation of fiscal policies.

Before the present war began, numerous financial and monetary reforms had been brought about, which have contributed greatly to the successful prosecution of the war. The strict enforcement of the budgetary system, changes in the collection of salt, consolidated and other taxes, the revision of tariff, the introduction of the income tax, excess profit tax and the wartime consumption tax, the differentiation of national from local revenues, and the readjustment of both foreign and domestic loans—have been largely responsible for the unification of China's finances and the soundness of her wartime financial structure. Other definite steps have been taken to increase the capital of the four Government banks, to extend more loans for agricultural and industrial development and to encourage thrift and savings. Of particular importance is the adoption of the legal tender policy which has given China a managed currency.

Material assistance from friendly nations has also helped in the development of interior provinces. During the past

three years, the National Government has concluded a number of financial agreements with Great Britain, the United States, and the U.S.S.R. Some of these took the form of credit loans, while others were barter arrangements. It should also be mentioned that the people, because of their implicit confidence in the National Government, have perfect faith in the legal tender notes and government bonds. Similarly praiseworthy have been the contributions from citizens at home and abroad.

China's financial outlook was stated in no uncertain terms by Dr. H. H. Kung, Vice-President of the Executive Yuan and concurrently Minister of Finance, on the fifth war anniversary on July 7, 1942, when he said: "As China enters its sixth year of war, she is admittedly confronted with many difficult problems, but her underlying economic and financial situation is fundamentally sound. I am confident that the difficulties can be sufficiently overcome so as to enable the country to increase its war effort and to play even a greater role in this world war against aggression. Moreover, China builds as she fights. The program of economic reconstruction has been accelerated despite the war and has already yielded gratifying results.

"Improvements in our fiscal system and in the currency structure will prove their effectiveness even more clearly in the coming year. The fact that we are no longer fighting alone, as we did during the first four and a half years, but as a member of the United Nations, naturally strengthens our position in the financial as well as other spheres."

#### SOME WARTIME FINANCIAL MEASURES

In order to achieve stability in its wartime finance the Chinese Government promulgated a set of currency regulations on September 8, 1939. According to the regulations, short-term commercial bills, warehouse certificates, corporate shares representing capital invested in productive enterprises and National Government bonds shall be included in the note reserve in addition to gold, silver and foreign exchange. However, these